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LOCAL POLICIES FOR URBAN SECURITY AND SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA:

THE CASES OF LISBON, CASCAIS AND
BARREIRO MUNICIPALITIES

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Local Policies for Urban Security and Spatial Planning in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area: the Cases of Lisbon, Cascais and Barreiro municipalities

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Keywords:

urban security, local policy, local authorities, planning practice, crime prevention.

Abstract

During the last decade, growing concerns about urban security shaped the Portuguese public debate, especially in the months following a media campaign about the so-called “wave of crimes” of the summer of 2008. Unprecedented feelings of fear of crime and the restructuring of the national approach to security followed the campaign. In Portugal, the central state is considered as the sole responsible for security: however, local authorities have been recently carrying out a variety of actions and policies for or around urban security.

The report presents the findings of a working package from an ongoing research project about urban security, fear of crime, and urban planning – “Which Secure Cities? A critical approach to security and feelings of fear in urban planning in Southern Europe”. An “atlas” of local policies for urban security in three municipalities of the metropolitan area of Lisbon is given: Lisbon, Cascais, and Barreiro. The main focus of the report is on the relations between policies for/around urban security and the institutional practice of spatial planning. In order to approach urban security as a complex and multifaceted theme, the report debates three types of policies: local policies for urban security; urban security within spatial planning policies; approaches to social prevention in social development plans.

Na última década, verificou-se em Portugal uma crescente atenção à segurança urbana, com maior saliência nos meses que se seguiram à campanha mediática sobre a “vaga de crime” do verão de 2008. A campanha foi seguida por um sentimento público de insegurança sem precedentes e pela reestruturação da política nacional de segurança. Apesar de a segurança ser uma competência exclusiva do poder central, as administrações locais têm vindo a mostrar uma crescente preocupação pelo tema, desenvolvendo uma diversidade de políticas para e sobre a segurança urbana.

O relatório apresenta os resultados empíricos do primeiro working package de uma investigação sobre segurança urbana, sentimentos de medo e planeamento urbano –

“Which Secure Cities? A critical approach to security and feelings of fear in urban planning in Southern Europe”. Apresenta-se um “atlas” das políticas locais de segurança em três concelhos da Área Metropolitana de Lisboa: Lisboa, Cascais e Barreiro. O relatório centra-se nas relações entre políticas de/para segurança urbana e ordenamento do território. Com o fim de abordar o tema de forma complexa e multifacetada, debatem-se três tipologias de políticas: políticas locais de segurança urbana; segurança urbana nas políticas de ordenamento do território; e abordagens de prevenção social nos planos de desenvolvimento social.

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0. INTRODUCTION

During the last decade, growing institutional and public concerns about (urban) security¹ shaped the Portuguese public debate. Although the central state is considered as the sole responsible for security, local administrations have been developing a variety of policies for or around urban security. The report presents the results of the first working package from an ongoing research whose aim is building critical understandings of the relations between (policies for) urban security, (feelings of) fear of crime, and urban planning². The empirical focus of the research is the metropolitan area of Lisbon (Área Metropolitana de Lisboa, AML) where three municipalities have been selected for study: Lisbon, Cascais, and Barreiro. The empiric results presented here constitute a first step towards an “atlas” of the institutional approaches towards urban security and/in spatial planning in the AML. Three types of policies have been monitored: local policies for urban security; urban security in spatial planning; approaches to social prevention in the municipal social development plans.

The report sets out as a presentation of data collected during the empirical work, at the same time a ground for further publications and a pilot project to be submitted to the metropolitan administration of Lisbon and the Commission for Regional Coordination and Development (Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo, CCDR-LVT) for eventual extension at the whole metropolitan area. The relevant empirical data are therefore not summed up and “filtered” but briefly commented and presented as a *catalogue raisonne*, with large use of quotations from the original documents and excerpts of interviews³.

The report is set out in five sections. Section 1 reviews literature about local policies for urban security and spatial planning in order to frame the main concepts for assessment of findings. In Section 2, the national context is framed: national security policy-making, crime rates, and available data about feelings of security. Section 3

¹ In this study, “security” refers to the right of being safe from crime and violence, and the public policies designed and implemented with the aim of securing such a right. In English, the term “safety” as well is used in this field, with slightly different meaning (cf. ICPC 2012, p.3). In Portugal, both terms are translated with “segurança”.

² “Which Secure Cities? A critical approach to security and feelings of fear in urban planning in Southern Europe” (funded by FCT on grant SFRH/BPD/86394/2012).

³ Translated to English for purposes of consistency throughout the text.

introduces the cases and local crime trends. Section 4 presents the methodological notes and empirical results. Some concluding remarks are given in Section 5.

I. LOCAL POLICIES FOR URBAN SECURITY AND SPATIAL PLANNING

Local authorities are choosing to invest in prevention in order to guarantee that the security of future generations, indispensable to the quality of life in cities, is a basic right for all.

EFUS, 2012, p. 6.

Security is the right of being and feeling safe from the danger of being victim of crime and violence in the urban space. The central role of urban space for general security is widely recognized (Chalom et al., 2001; ICPC, 2012; see also the EU Horizon 2020 framework). Urban security therefore refers to the right to security in urban space, in relation with direct and indirect prevention of crime and violence⁴. The focus of the report is on the relations between urban security policy-making and the institutional practice of spatial planning. The focus of the research is on the local scale because it is only recently that local institutional actors have been acknowledging their crucial role for urban security (EFUS, 2006; 2012). This, together with decentralization trends in Western countries, has been reflected in the emergence of local policies for urban security. Urban security within urban planning is thus an emerging field and a consolidated reality in some contexts – especially in the UK (cf. Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2004).

Urban security is a public interest that cannot be separated from other public goods and social rights. This because the only measures effective in the long-term are those which fight «the effects of crime as well as its causes such as social exclusion, discrimination in rights, and economic inequalities» (EFUS, 2006, paragraph 2). Guaranteeing the right to personal security is a responsibility of democratic institutions

⁴ The issue of crime repression and law enforcement falls outside the field of the research – see UN guidelines (ECOSOC, 2002), which distinguish crime prevention and law enforcement while recognizing that the latter also performs a preventive function.

(ECOSOC, 2002). The design and implementation of policies and practices for/around urban security is a complex and multifaceted issue, for two main reasons. Firstly, security, beyond a right, is a social demand, and the social demand for security is often not directly correlated with the actual danger of crime and violence: evidences show that public demands for security can be influenced by media discourses (Glassner, 1999; Heath et al., 2001) and that feelings of fear have been instrumentally boosted for political reasons (Tonry, 1998; Schermans, De Maesschalck, 2010). Security therefore is, at the same time, a right and a “socially-constructed” problem (see Colebatch, 2005), deeply entangled with complex and multi-scalar relations of power in the public arena (Frois, 2011).

Secondly, very different paradigms for urban security policy-making exist, grounded on different understandings of the “problem” of crime and violence and, thus, of crime prevention. UN guidelines enlist four approaches to crime prevention (ECOSOC, 2002): “promoting the well-being of people and encouraging pro-social behaviour”; “changing the conditions in neighbourhoods that influence offending, victimization and the insecurity that results from crime”; “preventing the occurrence of crimes by reducing opportunities, increasing risk and minimizing benefits”; “preventing recidivism”. For the EU, crime prevention covers «all measures that are intended to reduce or otherwise contribute to reducing crime and citizens’ feeling of insecurity, both quantitatively and qualitatively, either through directly deterring criminal activities or through policies and interventions designed to reduce the potential for crime and the causes of crime» (Council of the European Union, 2001, section 1, paragraph 3). Urban security thus can be explored, at the same time, as a right, a social demand, and a policy “objective”, pursued through a multifarious palette of approaches.

From an operational viewpoint, two main paradigms for crime prevention exist, the situational and the social (Chalom et al., 2001; Fernandes, 2006). The former is grounded on an understanding of crime as the outcome of rational choices made by rationally motivated actors⁵. The sets of techniques for crime prevention stemming from this perspective are: increasing the efforts required to, and the risks coming from, committing a crime; reducing the reward derived from crime; removing excuses for

⁵ Felson and Clarke (1998), in a paper revealingly titled *Opportunity Makes the Thief*, distinguish three main theoretical approaches for explaining crime occurrences: routine activity approach, crime pattern theory, rational choice perspective.

doing crime (Brantham et al., 2005). From the perspective of social prevention, social suffering is the main cause for deviant behaviours and criminality: crime prevention is therefore pursued through measures and policies that foster the social well-being around fields such as «employment, education, urban planning, housing, health, youth protection, social exclusion, policing and justice» (Chalom et al., 2001, p. ii). From this perspective, “a just city is a safer city” (EFUS, 2012, p. 9). The situational and social paradigms, although opposite from a theoretical viewpoint, coexist in the world of practice: the possibility to balance between them represents a proof of the intrinsic political – and controversial, when not conflictual – character of (urban) security, stemming from its manifold essence of right, social request, policy objective.

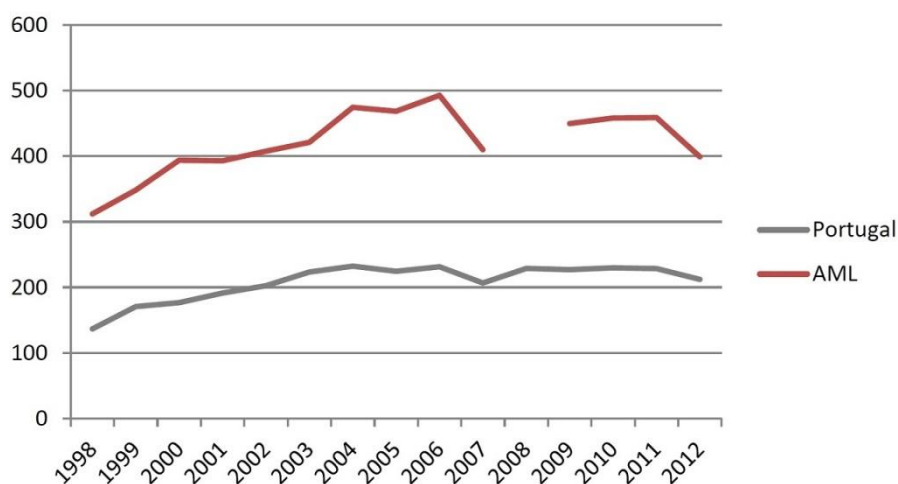
Which is the place of spatial planning within this frame? From a general perspective, planning practice can be intended as a public policy (Ferrão, 2011) because of its embeddedness in institutional structures (Friedmann, 2005). Therefore, spatial planning contributes to the social prevention of crime when it pursues “better” (more just, cohesive, sustainable, and so forth) cities and societies. Efforts have been dedicated recently to understanding how spatial planning can directly contribute to crime reduction. Environmental approaches to crime prevention abridge environmental criminology and urban design in order to “design-out” crime and threats – see the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) (Cozens, 2011) or the “community resilience” (Coaffee, Rogers, 2008). Environmental approaches are increasingly recognized and promoted institutionally – e.g., by UN (ECOSOC, 2002) and EU (CEN, 2007).

What is missing, within both institutional and academic debates, are critical insights about the relations between spatial planning, feelings of (in)security, and urban security intended as a manifold concept, as introduced in this section. In order to move some steps in this direction, the report debates the case of the metropolitan area of Lisbon, within the Portuguese national context, outlined in the next section.

2. THE PORTUGUESE EXPERIENCE: (IN)SECURITY, MEDIA, (DE)CENTRALIZATION

All through the last two decades, Portugal is characterised by some of the lowest rates of reported violent crime and victimization in Europe, together with Greece⁶. However, historic trends show some peculiarities when compared to most Western countries, where crime rates are steadily dropping since the early 1990s (Tonry, 1998; van Dijk, 2007; ICPC, 2012). During the 1990s and until 2004, the rate of violent crimes reported grows (Figure 1) as a consequence of the increasing of small thefts and robberies (Ferreira, 2003) and/or of the number of thefts and robberies actually reported. As a matter of fact, at the same time as reported crimes were increasing, the propensity to report crimes to police authorities grew as well (van Dijk et al., 2007, p. 110) and victimization rates dropped (Figure 2a). Since 2004, reported violent crimes are stable with some oscillations and tendency to decrease, as confirmed by victimization data.

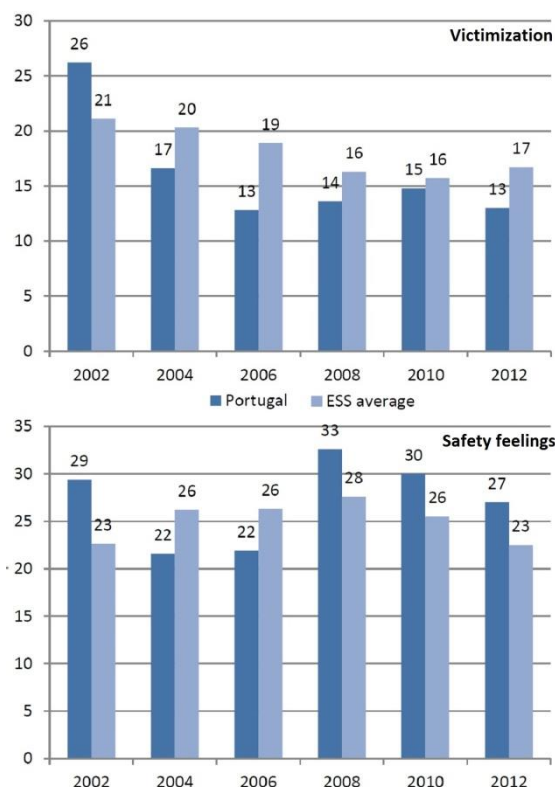
Figure 1. Violent in crimes, Portugal and AML



⁶ For victimization inquiries and international comparison the sources used are: International Crime Victims Surveys (1992; 1996; 2000; 2004-2005) by the Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute of the United Nations (van Dijk et al., 2007); European Social Surveys (2002; 2004; 2006; 2008; 2010; 2012) (available at www.europeansocialsurvey.org). For national trends of reported crimes, main data are those about “violent crimes” made available in series since 1997 in the annual reports published by the national department of Internal Administration (available on www.portugal.gov.pt/). Most crimes related with personal security fall in the category “violent crimes”: murder, assault, kidnapping, sexual violence and rape, bag-snatching, theft in public space and public transport, car theft, robbery, criminal conspiracy, terrorism, use of force/threats against a public official. As far as data are available in absolute value, they have been adjusted on the population using data by the National Institute for Statistics (www.ine.pt).

Violent crime reported/100.000 inhabitants in Portugal and the AML (districts of Lisbon and Setúbal) (elaboration of author on data Ministry of Internal Administration and National Institute for Statistics, cf. note 5; data 2008 not available at district scale).

Figure 2. Victimization rates and feelings of safety, Portugal and Europe



Victimization rates: percentage of respondents who declare they or a household member has been victim of burglary/assault in the last 5 years. Feelings of safety: percentage of respondents declaring they feel unsafe or very unsafe when walking alone in local area after dark (elaboration of author on data European Social Survey, cf. note 5).

In spite of low crime and victimization rates, some of the highest public perceptions of insecurity within Europe characterize Portugal. This is explained on the ground of general feelings of lack of faith in the future (Crucho de Almeida, 1998; Tulumello, Casimiro, 2014) and visible presence, in public spaces, of criminal behaviours or incivilities – such as drug dealing and vandalism – not directly connected with the actual danger of being victims of violent crime (van Dijk et al., 2007).

In 2008, a growth in the total number of crimes – following a comparable decrease in the previous year – and the concentration of some especially violent crimes in the metropolitan area of Lisbon during the month of August⁷ have been rhetorically used by some media for creating a campaign about crime and insecurity (Machado, Santos, 2009; Tulumello, 2012). A boom in the perceptions of insecurity (OSCOT, 2008; 2009) and significant transformations in the national and local approaches to, and policies for,

⁷ Above all some carjackings and an armed robbery with hostage keeping.

security followed. In the following years, the perceptions of crime insecurity have been reducing, arguably because of the centrality of social insecurities stemming from the economic crisis (cf. Tulumello, Casimiro, 2015), but they remain relatively high in comparison with the rest of Europe (Figure 2b).

The issue of centralization and the struggles for decentralization are crucial in Portugal⁸, and this is especially true as far as institutional approaches to security are concerned. The Internal Security law (Lei de Segurança Interna, 53/2008) states that security is a unique competence of the state (see also Valente, 2005; 2006). The law envisages the government, parliament, and autonomous regions (Madeira and Açores archipelagos) as responsible bodies for security policy. The first annual security strategy was approved in 2007, and is made of centralization, repression, and situational prevention. The law provides for: strengthening and centralization of state police bodies – Polícia de Segurança Pública (PSP), mainly responsible for urban areas, and Guarda Nacional Republicana (GNR), mainly responsible for rural areas; patrolling in “critical” neighbourhoods; video-surveillance.

In 2008, after the aforementioned media campaign, the Internal Security law, a national video-surveillance programme, and the protocol for local security contracts were approved, and a national survey about feelings of insecurity launched (OSCOT, 2008). Even the protocol for local security contracts reaffirms the state competence for security and municipalities as “privileged partners” for the “evaluation” of mainly repressive measures (cf. Tulumello, 2012, p. 72). Since 2006, the PSP has implemented some projects of proximity patrolling, debated as a “promise” more than a reality because of the strong centralising tendencies of the police body (Durão, 2012).

Nonetheless, local authorities have recently shown growing concerns for urban security and developed a variety of policies for, and tools and practices around, crime prevention, as tellingly exemplified in the introduction of the recently approved strategic programme for urban security of Cascais:

⁸ As evident, for instance, by levels of subnational and local expenditure, which, in Portugal, account for around 15% of total public expenditure, well below EU27 average (~25%) (Dexia, CCRE, 2012). See also Nanetti et al. (2004) on the failed attempt, during the 1990s, to the creation of regional bodies.

Portuguese municipal authorities, according to demands [*exigência*] by the citizens they represent and serve, are been assuming new competences and responsibilities in the social, economic, and security fields. As far as prevention of violent crime [*criminalidade de massa*] – i.e. the criminality that most affect security perceptions – is concerned, [municipal authorities] are playing an essential, fundamental, and structural role (Skild Security, 2014, p. 6).

It is worth running over the case of municipal polices, as a telling example. Up to the year 2000, only Lisbon and Porto – biggest municipalities of the country – had municipal police bodies, made up of officials transferred by the PSP. Is it during the last decade that further municipalities have invested in the creation of municipal polices. This brought about a renewal of national legislation (Law 19/2004; Decree-Law, Ministry of Internal Administration 239/2009), which defines municipal police bodies as administrative ones that should not exercise functions of criminal police.

Another telling example is video-surveillance policy. The state approved the sectoral legislation between 2004 and 2006⁹, and launched in 2008 a national video-surveillance programme. As a result, both the PSP and local authorities have been working for the implementation of CCTV systems for urban security (Frois, 2011; Tulumello, 2013). Among the peculiarities of Portuguese legislation, the department for Internal Administration and the national authority for Personal Data Protection (Comissão Nacional de Protecção de Dados, CNPD) were entitled of the authorization of CCTV systems and the inherent data processing. The two authorities had to evaluate on the grounds of the proportionality principle¹⁰. The recent Law 9/2012 has made the CNPD opinion not binding, eliminating the appraisal by an independent authority.

As far as spatial planning is concerned (cf. § 4.2.0) the National Directorate for Regional Planning and Urban Development has recently released a series of publications about the issues considered most relevant in urban policy: one, dedicated to urban security and planning, focuses on CPTED practices (Machado, Neves, 2011).

⁹ Decree-Law Ministry of Internal Administration 35/2004 on CCTV systems managed by private security companies; Law 1/2005 on CCTV systems for the surveillance of public buildings and spaces of public access; Law 51/2006 on surveillance of national relevance road infrastructures.

¹⁰ In sum, the principle states that the reduction of rights consequent to data handling should be proportionated to the benefits expected.

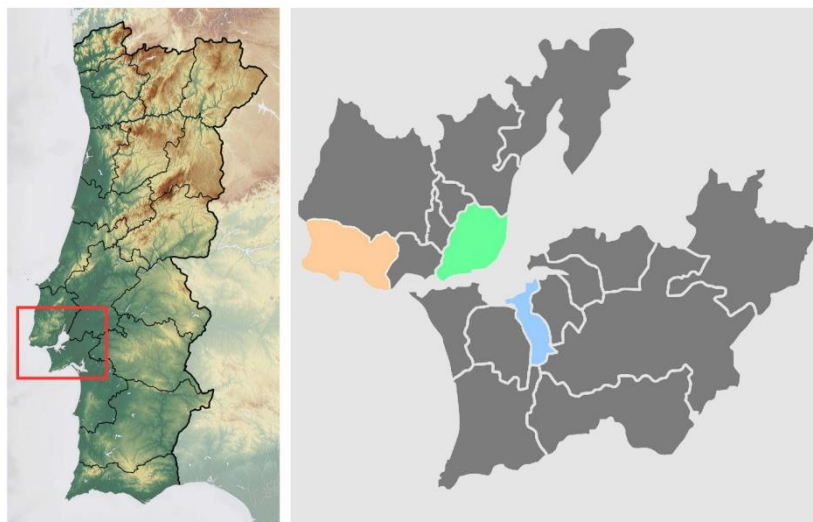
3. INTRODUCTION TO CASES: THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF LISBON

The object of study is the metropolitan area of Lisbon (Área Metropolitana de Lisboa, AML), which hosts around one fourth of Portuguese population (~2,800,000 inhabitants) and boasts a GDP per capita over the national average while showing extreme internal territorial contrasts (Nanetti, 2004). The unit of analysis of local policies shall be the municipality as far as it is the only subnational government level in the Portuguese institutional system – with the exception of two autonomous regions. In fact, the Regional Coordination and Development Boards (Comissões de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional) are deconcentrated expressions of the national government (see Nanetti et al., 2004), whereas the metropolitan boards (of Lisbon and Porto), instituted in 2003, lack of elected representative bodies and effective competences (Crespo, Cabral, 2010).

Three cases – Lisbon, Cascais, Barreiro (Figure 3) – have been selected on two grounds. Firstly, the municipalities show different characterisations on several dimensions – scale, urban development patterns, social and demographic structure –, which were expected to furnish the “complexity” for building at a metropolitan scale. Lisbon, core of the metropolis, is the most populated municipality in Portugal (~500,000 inhabitants) despite three decades of demographic contraction boosted by suburbanization and metropolization. Lisbon presents a dense and complex built environment, a strong symbolic and cultural capital counterbalanced by socio-economic polarization, and historic weakness of urban governance systems (Oliveira, Pinho, 2011). Cascais (~200,000 inhabitants) has experienced a steady demographic growth since the 1960s. According to most indicators, it is among the Portuguese cities with the highest levels of socio-economic development and quality of life, notwithstanding the strong polarization between the more developed coastal parishes and the inner ones (Santos et al., 2005). The recent history of Barreiro (~80,000 inhabitants), on the southern waterfront of the river Tejo, is characterized by the creation in the beginnings of 20th century of the CUF (Companhia União Fabril), one of the main industrial plants in Portugal (Sobral et al., 2005). The shutdown of CUF towards the end of the century was followed by demographic contraction – in contrast

to most other municipalities in the southern part of the metropolitan area – and the efforts for the reconversion of the local economic system.

Figure 3. Identification of case studies



The metropolitan area of Lisbon in Portugal (source Wikipedia) and the case-studies: Lisbon (green), Cascais (orange), Barreiro (blue) (elaboration of author).

Secondly, the three municipalities are characterized by administrative continuity in recent years and it is therefore possible comparing institutional approaches to security in different political cultures. The Socialist Party (Partido Socialista, PS), main national centre-left party, has governed Lisbon since 1989, with an interruption between 2002 and 2007 – the mayor is António Costa since 2007. The Social Democratic Party (Partido Social Democrata, PPD/PSD), main national centre-right party, has governed Cascais since 2001 – the mayor is Carlos Carreiras since 2011. Mayor Carlos Humberto de Carvalho from the Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português, PCP), main national left-wing party, governs Barreiro since 2005 by. The three mayors have been confirmed in their charge up to 2017 in the municipal elections held in 2013.

3.1. Reported crimes in the AML

The AML shows some of the lowest victimization and reported crime rates in Europe and the world (van Dijk et al., 2007). Despite this, feelings of insecurity are within the highest in the Western world (ibidem, p. 131).

Data about crimes and violent crimes are available at the metropolitan and municipal scale. The number of “violent crimes” reported per judicial district since 1998¹¹ are released on annual reports by the National Department for Internal Administration¹². The districts of Lisbon and Setúbal cover the northern and southern parts of the AML respectively, plus some smaller municipalities – the total population of the two districts rounds 3 million. The AML, the only big metropolitan area of Portugal, shows crime rates well over the national average (Figure 1). Reported violent crimes grew steadily until the year 2006 (1998-2006: +58%). Since 2006 the main tendency is of decrease with some oscillations (2006-2012: -21%). Most of the pre-2006 growth is due to the increase in small thefts and robberies and/or of small thefts and robberies actually reported¹³.

Reported offences against the person (Figure 4) and crimes against the property (Figure 5) are available since 1998 at the municipal scale¹⁴. Offences have significantly and continuously decreased in the analysed period in Lisbon and Cascais (-32% and -33%), whereas some oscillations and general stability characterize Barreiro. As far as crimes against the property are concerned, Cascais and Barreiro shows very low rates with some tendencies for decrease in Cascais (-10%) and growth in Barreiro (+26%). Lisbon, in spite of a marked decrease since the year 2000 (2000-2012: -28%), is characterized by values around two and three times the national rate. It is worth reminding that around 1 million commuters move every day to Lisbon for job or leisure: this almost triples the presences in respect to the number of residents, therefore amplifying the number of crimes per inhabitant. A peak characterized the year 2008 (+ 29%), which has brought about significant changes in the institutional approach to urban security (cf. § 4.1.1; Tulumello, 2013).

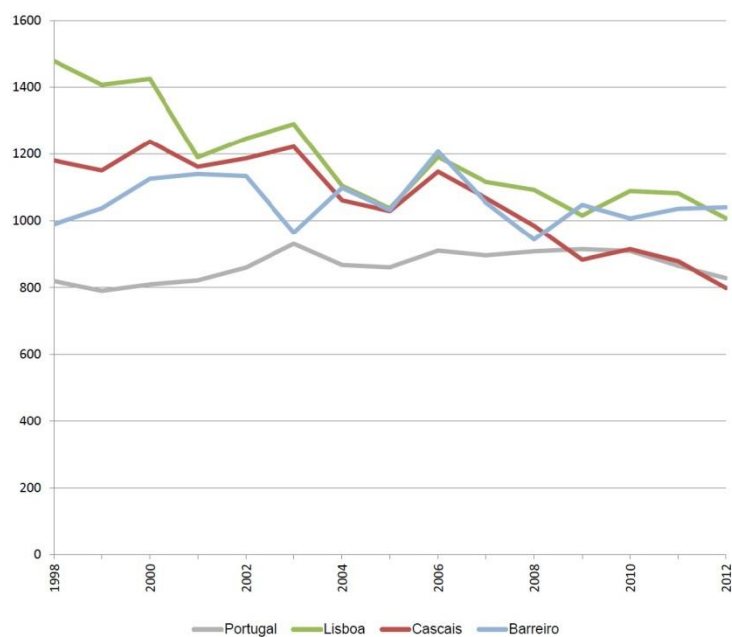
¹¹ Data are released in absolute values. I have therefore adjusted them on the population using data of National Institute for Statistics (www.ine.pt). See note 6 about the use of the category of “violent crimes”. Data about year 2008 have not been released.

¹² Relatórios Anuais de Segurança Interna, 2004-2013, retrieved from http://www.parlamento.pt/Fiscalizacao/Paginas/RelatoriosSegurancaInterna_XIIL.aspx [last access 01-12-2014].

¹³ Elaboration of the author on data national department of Internal Administration and National Institute for Statistics. These insights are consistent with those by Ferreira (2003) and van Dijk et al. (2007) about the increase of small crimes and propensity to actually report crimes.

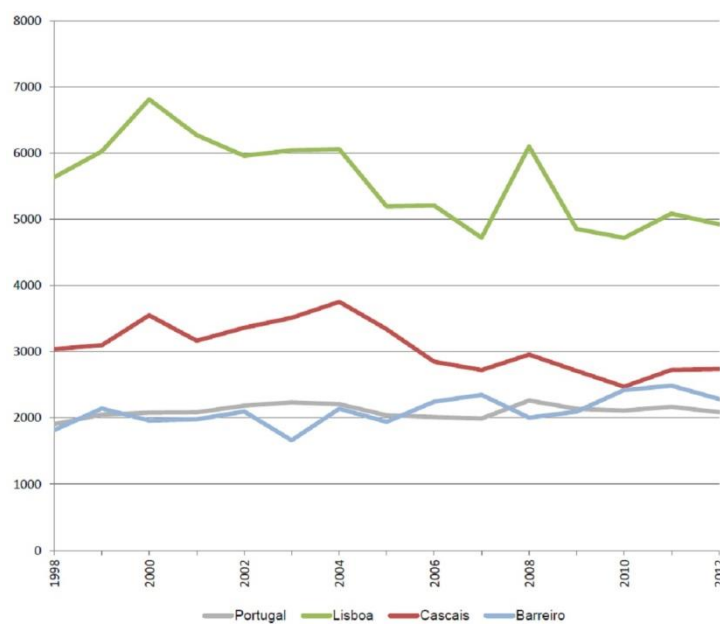
¹⁴ Data by National Institute for Statistics (www.ine.pt).

Figure 4. Offences against the person reported in Lisbon, Cascais, Barreiro



Offences/100.000 inhabitants (elaboration of author on data National Institute for Statistics, cf. note 5).

Figure 5. Crimes against the property reported in Lisbon, Cascais, Barreiro



Crimes/100.000 inhabitants (elaboration of author on data National Institute for Statistics, cf. note 5).

4. URBAN SECURITY POLICIES, WITHIN AND BEYOND SPATIAL PLANNING: LISBON, CASCAIS, BARREIRO

This section presents and comments empirical data as a *catalogue raisonne*, with use of quotations from original documents and excerpts of interviews¹⁵. Data have been collected between March 2013 and February 2014, from two main sources: analysis of documents – policies documents, municipal decisions, institutional websites¹⁶, records of reunions of Municipal Boards (Câmaras Municipais) and Assemblies (Assembleias Municipais), plans and projects, leaflets, research reports; work meetings, qualitative interviews, and focus groups with civil servants and officers, planner, and politicians (see Annex 1 for full list and the codes used into the text). A snowball method has been used for the selection of people to be met and interviewed, of the policies analysed to some extent, following the indications given by persons already met. This is consistent with the aim of assessing the policy areas considered relevant by the researcher, on the one hand, and understanding what public servants and politicians consider relevant for urban security, on the other. It is to be said that I could interview the person with the political responsibility for security policies in Barreiro only (B1; B6): in Lisbon, I have been awaiting for the interview with the responsible councillor since July 2011¹⁷; in Cascais, I am awaiting for an interview with the person in charge for urban security in the mayor office since July 2013.

As a result, the lists of policies analysed (see Annex 2) are partially different in each municipality. They belong to three types.

1. Local policies for crime prevention and urban security – i.e. municipal police bodies, CCTV systems, security programmes and audits, civil protection.
2. Urban security within spatial planning policies:
 - the national programme for spatial planning policy (Law 58/2007);
 - the regional plan of the AML (Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministries 68/2002);

¹⁵ All translations are mine.

¹⁶ Those of the municipalities (www.cm-lisboa.pt, www.cm-cascais.pt, www.cm-barreiro.pt) and municipal projects, offices, companies, and services.

¹⁷ I had tried to interview the councillor during a six-month visiting period in Lisbon during my PhD and during the present research. In both occasions my requests of interview have been not answered. I had two work meetings with the assistant of the councillor, instead, in 2011 and 2013. After the municipal elections of September 2013, the councillor was not confirmed on charge.

- two generations of town masterplans (Planos Diretores Municipais, PDMs), those approved during the 1990s and the ones recently approved or in planning;
 - strategic plans;
 - detailed plans – Planos de Urbanização (PUs, detailed land-use plans) and Planos de Pormenor (PPs, urban design plans)¹⁸ – whose planning process has been launched in the last decade;
 - further policies for urban regeneration
 - approaches to public participation in planning – i.e. participatory budgeting, agendas 21.
3. Approaches to social prevention of crime as set out in the municipal social development plans.

The three municipalities are referred in text with the acronyms CML (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa), CMC (Câmara Municipal de Cascais), CMB (Câmara Municipal de Barreiro).

¹⁸ Cf. the national spatial planning system, regulated by the Law 31/2014 (which replaced Law 54/2007). PUs are statutory plans with land-use cogency, whereas PPs are urban design plans without land-use cogency.

4.1. Local policies for urban security

This section reviews two types of local policies for urban security. Firstly, local versions of nationally regulated policies: municipal police bodies and civil protection services. Secondly, crime prevention policies specifically designed and implemented by local authorities: in Lisbon, community patrolling by the municipal police, CCTV systems, and a security “barometer”; in Cascais, CCTV systems and a strategic programme for urban security. In Barreiro, the councillor for Civil Protection talks of urban security as a “multi-factor” issue (B1; B6) and highlights a local security audit in design phase (analysed below), social intervention in deprived neighbourhoods, and assistance for elderly living alone.

4.1.0. Local implementation of national policies

Municipal polices

Lisbon and Cascais have a municipal police body, whereas Barreiro has not. As termed by Law 19/2004, municipal polices have neither criminal police competences nor direct responsibility for crime prevention and enforcement.

The municipal police of Lisbon, with 370 officers, is the biggest of Portugal. The institutional website addresses its competence on security¹⁹:

[The municipal police] cooperates for keeping public safety [*tranquilidade*] and protecting local communities, through: public security actions; surveillance of public spaces and public accessible spaces, i.e. areas next to schools and public transport hubs; patrolling of municipal buildings and facilities.

The officer in charge (L3) talks about “cooperation” in urban security, grounded on the “closeness and openness” [*proximidade*] of municipal police to citizens. Some community patrolling programmes have been recently developed with the aim of strengthening further this “closeness”, (see § 4.1.1).

The municipal police of Cascais, with 55 officers, is one of the biggest with exclusion of Lisbon and Porto. The institutional webpage mentions “security” and “patrolling” in the list of competencies²⁰:

¹⁹ From <http://pm.cm-lisboa.pt/conteudos/menu-principal/area-operacional.html> [last access 01-12-2014].

Security: [the municipal police] supports municipal civil protection services in situations of public crisis or disasters; it reports those crimes it get into the known while exercising its functions, adopting urgent and preemptive measures necessary for preserving evidences until coming of criminal police; it apprehends and hands suspects of crime to judicial authority or police in cases of flagrante delicto.

Patrolling: [the municipal police] patrols public and public access spaces, i.e. areas next to schools; [...] it partakes of prevention programmes with target groups, i.e. school students or specific groups of citizens.

The officers in charge (C3; C8) stress that urban security and crime prevention are competences of central state only and criminal polices, and that municipal police acts in subsidiarity, having urban security as a collateral competence. However, an officer admits that the definition of competences between police forces is rather fuzzy (C8).

Civil protection services

Civil protection services, present in the three municipalities, are competent for risk prevention and coordination of civil protection bodies in cases of emergency (fire brigades, criminal polices). Civil protection services work as “catalysers” (C2) of the intervention apparatus:

[civil protection] is an organic entity, a structure which mission is the development of the parts of the municipal system for civil protection of Cascais, through the organization of work breakdown among entities and services directly or indirectly responsible for safety (C2).

As far as urban security is concerned, civil protection services act in subsidiarity, reporting crimes during emergency situations. It is nonetheless worth highlighting that, in Lisbon and Barreiro, the councilmen for Civil Protection are, at the same time, in charge for urban security, and the civil protection service of Barreiro is on charge for the local security audit (see below).

4.1.1. Lisbon

Community patrolling

Since 2007, the municipal police has been carrying out community patrolling programmes. The officer in charge (L3) explains that, at that time, «we felt the need to further enhance closeness and openness [*aproximarmos*] [to citizens], to further improve solutions for the community [*dar*

²⁰ From www.cm-cascais.pt/area/policia-municipal [last access 01-12-2014].

uma resposta à comunidade]. It is worth highlighting that community patrolling is the only urban security policy explicitly mentioned in the background document for the administrative reform of the municipality approved 2012 (Mateus et al. 2012).

A first programme was implemented in the Baixa, downtown touristic core of the city, where some conflicts were connected to the presence of beggars, homeless people, and “drug dealers” – police is perfectly aware that what these “dealers” sell is not actual drugs but frauds for tourists. 35 officers, equipped with segways, were assigned to the patrolling service. In 2008, the programme was replicated in Avenida de Roma, central residential and commercial district. The officer in charge (L3) admits that those two experiments «can barely be considered community patrolling [...] [inasmuch as] they were not well thought [because of the need] to provide a fast solution».

Since 2008, when the interviewed sociologist joined the municipal police, a different conception of community patrolling was developed. This time, efforts were done for designing a programme “from scratch together with local communities” (L3). A working team started to look for a “pilot” area started, that had to be characterized by the existence of civic and grass-root movements, in order to implement a participatory approach. The Alta de Lisboa was selected, a district planned and built from roots since the 1980s (see Pinho, 2011), where the coexistence of social housing and gated communities, as well as the visible presence of drug dealing and vandalism, have been generating latent conflictualities. Some officers from the municipal police joined the existing community group (Grupo Comunitario da Alta de Lisboa, GCAL) and promoted the creation of a subgroup dedicated to urban security. The design of the community patrolling took almost two years, during which mutual trust was created, the needs expressed by the community listened, the officers selected and trained. A crucial point was the selection of the officers for the patrols, who should have been “open” and willing to “accept the suggestions [*contributo*] of citizens” (L3). Because of the scarce resources allocated to the project, only two officers were assigned, covering a daily shift of 8 hours.

Another similar programme was launched during 2014 in the near Ameixoeira district.

CCTV systems

Since 2008, the CML has been working for the implementation of CCTV systems for crime prevention in public spaces (cf. Tulumello, 2013). A system made of 37 cameras was installed in 2013 in Bairro Alto, the core of Lisbon nightlife, where the coexistence of an ageing population, young and affluent newcomers – who are boasting some gentrifying tendencies –, and night-time users has been generating some conflicts and insecurity feelings (Costa, 2009). The national commission for Data Protection (Comissão Nacional de Protecção de Dados, CNPD)

approved in 2009 the system, but limited its use to night hours and for a test period of six months. Considered that, according to the renewed legislation (Lei 9/2012), the CNPD opinion is not binding, the test period is expected to be extended (L2)²¹.

The PSP, in collaboration with the São Nicolau parish, presented in 2010 another proposal for a CCTV system in the Baixa. The CNPD rejected the proposal, because crime data showed rates not higher than in other areas of the city. In 2011, the CML, together with PSP, presented another project, extended to the near Martim Moniz square and Almirante Reis avenue, areas commonly considered as “marginal” and “dangerous” (Tulumello, Ferro, 2013). The CNPD rejected the proposal once again, for the same reason of low crime rates. Because of the new legislation, the CML is working on a new project with around 70 cameras, further extended to Cais do Sodré neighbourhood and Alameda square (L2, interviewed July 2013).

Another CCTV system made of 24 cameras covers main road junctions for traffic control purposes. However, the system is not working, because of a CNPD opinion justified on the fact that the range of cameras – the field of view of some is extended for more than 2 kilometres – has been considered excessive for traffic control purposes. As a consequence of the changed legislation, a new proposal for a system extended to 45 cameras is being prepared by the municipal division for Traffic Management (L5, interviewed October 2013).

Security barometer

The CML, given the difficulty to receive updated data about crime events by the national police, has been working since 2012 for creating a “security barometer”, with the aim to gather complementary data about urban security (L2). The barometer should had systematized reports of small crimes and incivilities collected by municipal services (fire brigade, PM, civil protection, municipal parking company). After the municipal elections of September 2013, and the change of the councillor in charge for urban security, the project has been blocked²².

4.1.2. Cascais

CCTV systems

The municipal police manages a system of cameras installed in June 2013 for the surveillance of public buildings and spaces. According to an officer (C8), apart from municipal buildings, the

²¹ As a matter of fact, the system is still working at the times of writing, December 2014, more than one year after the meeting with the assistant of the councillor.

²² At the times of writing (December 2014), news about the project are available neither at the municipal cabinet for Urban Security nor from the assistant of the former councillor for Urban Security.

cameras were installed in some public gardens where “some problems had been experienced”, without a general strategy²³. A system made of a dozen cameras monitors the waterfront promenade in São Pedro de Estoril district. However, no information about the system and who manages it is available in municipal offices (C2; C3; C8).

Moreover, the recently approved strategic programme for urban security (see above) envisages further CCTV systems for crime prevention (Skild Security, 2014). The president of the private company which designed the programme considers video-surveillance as «an extremely important, complementary security means» (C5).

Strategic programme for urban security

The CMC has recently commissioned the development of a strategic programme for urban security to a counselling company (Skild Security). According to the company owner and president (C5), the plan is the very first of this type in Portugal, «something original, which can be replicated in further municipalities».

The design was inspired on an evidence-based approach:

I wish that the report [of the strategic programme] could aim, and objectively aim, at actual problems. The users of the report will be aware that, in neighbourhood X, those are the problems, they are located here, here, there, and there, also making use photographic surveys (C5).

The objectives of the programme are (Skild Security, 2014, p. 8):

1. Setting out a diagnosis of the socio-criminal situation in Cascais;
2. Analysing the risks impending on Cascais citizens' security;
3. Set out solutions for prevention of risks and reduction of their consequences, therefore contributing to the prevention and reduction of criminality and anti-social behaviours, and to the increase of feelings of security of Cascais citizens' security feelings;
4. Identifying the partnerships with further entities and organization, that are necessary for pursuing the aforementioned objectives;
5. Gathering efforts and creating synergies among all entities that carry out, in the municipality, activities which contribute, either directly or indirectly, to the aforementioned objectives.

The company owner made references to the recommendations by the European Forum for Urban Security about security audits (C5; cf. EFUS, 2007). However, the analysis for the

²³ In January 2014, the director of department Municipal Police and Inspection promised to send the list of spaces under surveillance. I have not received the list, despite several further requests sent.

definition of the programme was grounded on crime reports by PSP only and a security audit with surveys is planned within the objectives, but without priority on the implementation of situational prevention means (cf. below). The core of the report is the temporal/geographical analysis of reported crimes (Skild Security, 2014, pp. 17-47).

Although the report refers to further municipal policies as means of social prevention (Skild Security, 2014, pp. 13-15) it exclusively envisages situational prevention actions (cf. Annex 3), in addition to some communication actions aimed at the population. Beyond specific situational prevention means, the core of the strategy is the creation of a municipal security board and an operations centre, in order to centralize available information and response capacity – see the operational programme beyond.

4.1.3. Barreiro

Local security audit

The municipal civil protection service has been carrying out, since 2009, a local security survey, preliminary step for a triennial security audit. However, after the 2013 elections, with the change of the councillor in charge for Civil Protection, the process has been frozen. In the words of the former councilmen (B6), the aim of the audit was «gathering more and better information in order to deal better with every possible situation [and] demystify some myths [*mitos*] existing around insecurity. [...] [We expect that] data will prove how some issues debated [*coisas que se colocam*] are based on facts [*verdadeiras*], others are not so much based on facts».

The Objectives and Strategy section of the project states (CMB, 2013):

This project is grounded on the measurement, through sampling, of concerns and necessities felt by population in relation with security perceptions. [The project aim to] create the conditions, either through policing, or through direct intervention of the municipality in its areas of competence, to guarantee a better public service, which is necessary for the well-being of the citizens.

The survey should have explored security perceptions, to be compared to actual data about crime occurrences. The underlying idea was that, once given access to better data, the population would feel more secure (B1; B6). Because of budget restraints, the survey was designed an online questionnaire. The person on charge for the development of the survey had a target of 15.000 participations (B2).

The survey was made of five sections made of multiple choice questions (CMB, 2013).

<i>A. Respondent data</i>	
<i>B. Security/insecurity perceptions</i>	<p>Do you consider the area where you live safe? Why?</p> <p>Do you think that the criminality grew? Why?</p> <p>What kinds of crimes are more frequent?</p> <p>What crimes you fear the most?</p> <p>Which conditions favour crimes?</p> <p>Which anti-social behaviours [<i>incivilidades</i>] have been experienced?</p>
<i>C. Victimization</i>	<p>Were you victim of crime(s) during the past 5 years?</p> <p>Which crime(s)?</p> <p>Which kinds of damages were suffered?</p> <p>When did the crime happen? (Day / Night)</p> <p>Where did the crime happen?</p> <p>Were you alone or accompanied?</p> <p>Who was the offender?</p> <p>Did you contact authorities? Why?</p> <p>Did you report the crime? Why?</p> <p>Which measures taken by authorities?</p> <p>Where you satisfied of such measures? Why?</p> <p>Was some of your relative victim of crime(s) during the past 5 years?</p>
<i>D. Control</i>	<p>Do you think that officers do whatever they can in order to ensure security? Why?</p> <p>Evaluate your degree of satisfaction with authorities? Why?</p> <p>How often do you ask support to your neighbours? Why?</p> <p>How often do you ask support to local social assistance entities? Why?</p>
<i>E. Community life</i>	<p>How long have you've been living in your community?</p> <p>What should be changed in order to improve quality of life in your community?</p> <p>What should be changed in order to improve security in your community?</p> <p>Would you be willing to cooperate in the improvement of security? Why?</p> <p>Which kind of relations unite your community? Why?</p>

4.2. Urban security and spatial planning

This section debates the presence (or absence) of direct and indirect references to urban security in spatial planning policies. The policies analysed are town masterplans, strategic plans, detailed plans, further policies for urban regeneration, and participation approaches in urban planning. In order to provide a wider context, an analysis of the main supra-municipal plans opens the section.

Outbox. Supra-municipal policies

National Programme for Spatial Planning Policy

The National Programme for Spatial Planning Policy (Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território, PNPOT), approved in 2007, defines the strategic objectives for regional and urban planning (DGT, 2007). The role of spatial planning for urban security is addressed within the strategic objective 4: “Ensuring territorial equity in the supply of infrastructural and public facilities and access to public services, fostering social cohesion”.

The operational objective 4.4 therefore states:

Improve networks of facilities and programmes in order to effectively answer the needs of different social groups and households, fostering the integration of groups vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion, guaranteeing security for all citizens (DGT, 2007, p. 46).

The priority measures envisaged are (ibidem): participatory planning; integrated interventions for contrasting poverty and social exclusion; socio-institutional partnerships; improvement of sport facilities; proximity security programmes; expansion of the local network of police stations.

Lisbon Region Masterplan

The Lisbon Region Masterplan (Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território da Área Metropolitana de Lisboa, PROT-AML) in force was approved in 2002 by the Commission for Regional Coordination and Development of Lisbon and Tejo river Valley (CCDRLVT, 2002). Urban security is addressed in relation with socio-territorial cohesion strategy:

Urban spatialities mirrors situations of social precariousness, namely in the proliferation of deprived and under-equipped areas, characterized mainly by populations socially deprived and vulnerable to social exclusion, that is, groups of risk. [...] At the same time, socio-economic precariousness is associated to urban marginalization and insecurity, which (negatively) affect both urban quality of life and economic activities (CCDRLVT, 2002, p. 24).

Socio-territorial cohesion strategy relies on (ibidem, p. 25): urban regeneration of deprived areas; policies for improvement of human capital, employment, and employability; urban and housing policies for territorial equity.

The update of the plan had been launched in 2010, but the process has been blocked since 2011 after the general elections, which led to a change of government. The presence of “phenomena of marginalization and insecurity” is highlighted in the SWOT analysis of the work in progress (CCDRLVT, 2010). Therefore, within the strategic objective “Territorial Improvement and Social Cohesion”, it is stated that

Lisbon region shall be a cohesive and improved territory, with residential areas characterized by identity and urbanity, proximity services and facilities, security, public spaces for leisure and conviviality (CCDRLVT, 2010, p. 12).

With this aim, priorities are envisaged: better access to housing; improving territorial cohesion through proximity services; valorisation of heritage and cultural activities; better environmental and landscape quality.

4.2.1. Town masterplans

Two generations of town masterplans have been analysed. The first generation is made of the plans launched in the early 1990s, often referred to as the first generation of comprehensive plans in Portugal. The second generation is made of the recent plans that (will) substitute – with some delay in respect to the legal term of 10 years – the first generation ones: in Lisbon the plan has been approved in 2012; in Cascais the preliminary version is ongoing a public debate; in Barreiro the design of the plan, grounded on guidelines approved in 2003, is ongoing²⁴. Annex 4 presents the main features of, and references to urban security within, the six plans.

²⁴ A new working group was established in July 2013, cf. http://www.cm-barreiro.pt/NR/rdonlyres/32375D1A-1026-480F-BF33-C63D03D7C8F9/0/ROF_CA_Barreiro.pdf [last

To sum up, an evolution from a land-use to a mixed normative-strategic approach to spatial planning characterizes the second generation when compared to the first. The plans of 1990s, mainly focussed towards the regulation of urban growth, make no references to urban security. On the contrary, the recent plans address the issue. The making of “secure” urban spaces is within the strategic objectives in Lisbon²⁵ and Cascais²⁶. More specific references appear in relation to council housing districts, security/insecurity feelings, public transport hubs. This is consistent with the words of the chief planners. The chief planner of Lisbon (L1) stresses the importance of public space regeneration in order to «improve residential attractiveness», vitality, and thus security. The chief planner of Cascais (C6) addresses the issue from the perspective of spatial characteristics of urban fabric:

In our opinion, security, within the masterplan, is guaranteed according to the traditional spatiality of the city. [...] Luckily, modernist planning was not successful [*não fez carreiras*] in Cascais. [...] In general terms, the urban fabric of Cascais is the one of the traditional city, where people walk in the streets, the streets are peppered with stores, the stores illuminate sidewalks, hence security is naturally guaranteed *segurança, do nosso ponto de vista, nas propostas do PDM, é assegurada com base na cidade tradicional.*

The planner thus explicitly refers to the aim to «keep the spatial proportions [*escalas*, literally scales] traditional of Cascais» and refers to New Urbanism theories.

In Barreiro, the plan guidelines (approved in 2003) neither implicitly nor explicitly address issues of urban security. As a matter of fact, the chief planner (B3) confirms that

as far as the town masterplan is concerned, we are not dealing with issues like those you [the interviewer, me] associate with security. [...] Considering issues of security within town planning is something new for us.

access 01-12-2014].

²⁵ Plan available at www.cm-lisboa.pt/viver/urbanismo/planeamento-urbano/plano-diretor-municipal [last access 01-12-2014].

²⁶ Plan version in public debate available at www.cm-cascais.pt/sub-area/processo-de-revisao-do-plano-diretor-municipal [last access 01-12-2014].

The planner highlights the issue of scale, making some references to urban regeneration policies (see § 4.2.4) and suggesting that, moving towards superordinate planning instruments, references to security tend to “become generic.

The minutes of meetings of municipal boards and assemblies in which the plans were debated have been screened with the aim to assess the presence of issues of security in the political debate. In Cascais and Barreiro²⁷, when the planning processes were launched, the issue was not mentioned. In Lisbon, in four occasions for debate²⁸, the only reference to an issue connected with urban security was made by a councillor from the Communist Party, who criticized the approach to urban regeneration. Urban regeneration policy, in his opinion, would be fostering social polarization, rather than social heterogeneity, hence increasing social conflict and generating fears at the grounds of the proliferation of gated communities.

4.2.2. Strategic planning

Among the three municipalities, Lisbon is the only one to have developed strategic plans and charters independently from town masterplans. The municipality approved, in 1992, its first strategic plan, which set out the guidelines for the town masterplan approved in the following year (cf. Soares, 1994). Similarly, a strategic charter (see below) has set out the grounds for the 2012 town masterplan. Cascais and Barreiro, on the contrary, never developed independent strategic charters or plans, whereas the town masterplans in public debate and design incorporate a strategic component.

Lisbon Strategic Charter 2010-2024

The strategic charter of Lisbon (CML, 2009) has been approved in 2009 after a series of public sessions, in coincidence with the preliminary phases of the town planning process. In the words of the persons in charge for its development (CML, 2009, p. 1):

The Charter is a participatory process within a democratic environment, whose main character is

²⁷ Minutes of meetings CMC 14.07.2000; minutes of meeting CMB 26.11.2003.

²⁸ Minutes of meeting CML 10.11.2010, approval of preliminary version; Minutes of meeting CML 16.03.2011, approval for submission to public debate; Minutes of meeting CML 21.09.2011, approval of final version; Minutes of meeting Municipal Assembly of Lisbon 26.06.2012, approval of final version.

the citizen – who expresses a viewpoint, disagrees, communicates, makes proposals. It is an open, but structured, way to create a new narrative for the city, an understanding that put together the pace of changes, the timing of institutions, and the eagerness of citizens.

One out of the six strategic axis refers to urban security:

Regenerate, attract young people, and socially equilibrate the population.

Make Lisbon a friendly, safe, and inclusive city to everybody.

Make Lisbon an environmentally sustainable and energy efficient city.

Turn Lisbon into an innovator, creative, and competitive city at a global level, creating wealth and employment.

Give Lisbon a strong identity, in a globalized world.

Create an efficient, participatory and financially sustainable government model.

4.2.3. Detailed planning

The detailed plans, in force or in planning, have been analysed through the screening of plan documents or (when not yet available) the Termos de Referencia²⁹ – guidelines approved by the municipal boards at the beginning of the planning process. The plans analysed are:

- Lisbon: 6 detailed land-use plans (Planos de Urbanização, PUs); 30 urban design plans (Planos de Pormenor, PPs);
- Cascais: 18 PPs;
- Barreiro: 1 PU.

Annex 5 sums up the main features of, and references to urban security within, the plans.

²⁹ Most documents are available on the institutional websites: www.cm-lisboa.pt/viver/urbanismo/planeamento-urbano; www.cm-cascais.pt/sub-area/ordenamento-territorio; www.cm-barreiro.pt/pt/conteudos/municipio/Planeamento+e+Gestao+Urbana/ [last access 01-12-2014]. In Cascais, the plan processes have been launched without the approval of Termos de Referencias: Quinta da Carreira (2005); Praça de Touros de Cascais (2005); Autódromo (2008). As far as the draft documents are not yet available, the three plans have not been analysed.

Lisbon

According to a chief planner (L4), the main aim of detailed planning is that of putting into effect decisions taken within superordinate plans and policies. Hence, the role of detailed planning for urban security stems from this aim.

Dimensions of urban security are not explicitly dealt with, that is, although security is dealt with indirectly, I do not know guidelines where security is explicitly mentioned. However, we are getting more and more aware that is we are capable of guaranteeing some specific urban qualities, we are at the same time providing security.

[...] [On the contrary, if we create] conflictual spatialities, we may be fostering future conflictualities and insecurity factors.

[...] If we are capable of making a cosmopolitan city and a compact urban fabric, a vibrant city with a multiplicity of uses and activities, [...] we are creating natural conditions for security, without any need for, say, behavioural regulations. This is what characterizes, in my opinion, urban policy in Lisbon nowadays.

[...] [Urban security] is a dimension that we did not, perhaps, confronted directly. It is a latent issue in our understanding of urban planning, namely, an implicit concern. However, I admit that we may end up giving more centrality to urban security, that is, understanding better the issues which surround it, in order to offer better solutions and guarantee better life conditions to people.

During the interview, the planner refers to the process of the plan for an hospital plant (Parque Hospitalar Oriental) in Chelas, a strongly stigmatized council housing district (cf. Tulumello, 2012). During the planning process, some explicit debate occurred around how the ways planning outputs could help overcoming specific local concerns with urban security. Moreover, a workshop together with representatives of the police had been carried out. However, the plan documents do not mention urban security issues.

As far as the plans analysed are concerned, no references to urban security is found within the 7 PUs, whereas urban security is dealt with in 10 out of 30 PPs. Most references (in 7 plans) highlight adequate lightning and appropriate design as means for providing better security and safety in pedestrian paths and public spaces. In the PP for the urban regeneration of the historic district of Baixa, urban security is highlighted in relation with different times of the day, inasmuch as the long-term abandonment of dwellings and the scarce vitality of public spaces at

nights are connected with some feelings of insecurity (cf. § 4.1.1). In the PP for the regeneration of the university campus, security is expected to be guaranteed by the “eyes on the street” to be generated by the installation of retail facilities.

In the PP for Mayer park, botanical garden and surrounding areas, a chapter of the socio-economic analysis debates urban security within public space.

Urban security is interlinked with life quality, demography, mobility e social relations among actors, as well as passive (preventive) and active (repressive) measures by government, authorities, and police forces. Images of violence and crime occurrences reported by media build dissonances [*arquitectam dissonâncias*] and influence the perception and understanding of events. Citizens and city users therefore mark ideal boundaries that influence the urban territory and are mirrored in the way people understand risks and crimes in specific neighbourhoods and urban areas. The perception of (in)security is a mental image, which influence physical and social spaces, economic activities, processes and perceptions concerning the interactions among urban actors (DMPU-CML, 2010, p. 30).

The document, then, sets out an analysis of crime rates in Lisbon and gives some data from a 1995 survey about feelings of security (Esteves, 1999).

[According to the survey], Avenida da Liberdade was considered a place not to be frequented during day or night by 4,5% of respondents. According to respondents, the Avenida was a place of “average” dangerousness, because of bag-snatching, thefts and armed robberies (DMPU-CML, 2010, p. 32).

According to the planner (L4), the perceptions of insecurity in this area can be explained by the decline of one of the former cores of the urban nightlife. However, specific measures are not found in the plan proposal. According to the planner, the implementation of the plan itself, the new uses to be introduced, and the regeneration of the park will constitute «factors of vivification and, thus, security increase». The municipal board has debated the plan in three occasions³⁰, without any reference to urban security.

Also in the PP Quinta Marquês de Abrantes e Alfinetes, in the Chelas district (see above), a chapter about urban security in public spaces integrates the plan report. Similarly to the previous case, the crime volumes in Lisbon are analysed and some data from the 1995 survey are given.

[According to the survey], the public space in this urban area is associated with images of insecurity, marginality, and danger, with street vandalism. According to 15,9% of the respondents,

³⁰ Minutes of meeting CML 28.01.2009, approval of guidelines; Minutes of meeting CML 09.09.2009, approval of preliminary version; Minutes of meeting CML 08.09.2010, approval for submission to public debate.

the occurrence of crimes against the person creates a mental image of a place dangerous and not to be frequented during day and night, because of crimes against the patrimony, thefts, and armed robberies (DCIP-CML, 2011, p. 54).

The planner (L4) confirms that urban security was not explicitly debated during the planning process. In occasion of the approval of guidelines³¹, no references to urban security were made in the debate.

Cascais

According to the chief planner (C7), detailed planning shall «operate locally [*picar os pontos que são fundamentais*, literally “prick important issues”] with the aim of improving life quality in wider areas». From his perspective, security is a fundamental component of the process. The planner stresses the role of prevention and that «the ideal standard for planning is achieved when no need for policing arises».

According to the planner, the appropriation of space by residents and users is paramount:

[security] is a lot about how we perceive our spaces [*o espaço que é nosso*]; [security] is creating references so that people can identify themselves with the place; [security is] taking care, when vandalism happens, of eliminating damages immediately.

Urban security is referred in 13 out of 18 PPs. In 8 plans – designed in accordance to the plan for the natural park Sintra-Cascais – generic references to the triad comfort, image, and security of public spaces are made. Also in the plans for Boca do Inferno (public space design) and Carcavelos-Sul (urban restructuring) generic references to security are found. In the latter case, the chief planner (C7) reports that some debates had been made – both among planners and politicians – about the idea of fencing the planned park. But, in his opinion, «if we move from the assumption that fencing the park suddenly increases security, we may be wrong. [...] Use is often the first degree of control [*o primeiro patamar da fiscalização*]». As a matter of fact, the planner believes that creating lively public spaces is a way to achieving the referred appropriation of space by residents, who become preventers of deviant behaviours. The planner therefore insisted on, and was successful in, leaving the park open 24 hours a day.

The planner made reference to the plan for urban restructuring of Estoril-Sol hotel and surrounding areas, where the improvement of pedestrian connections between a park and the waterfront, separated by a train line, guaranteed better visibility and natural control.

In the plan for a tertiary development in Sassoeiros Norte, the existence of insecurity feelings

³¹ Minutes of meeting CML 09.09.2009, approval of guidelines.

connected with robberies and vandalism is mentioned as a risk for tourism and attractiveness.

The chief planner (C7) considers the plan for a tertiary development in Arneiro, where a shopping mall and a multiplex cinema are planned, as a clear example of the need to consider security in conjunction to the expectations of fluxes in use. As a matter of fact, the plan documents make several references to urban security (ECOMIND, 2010):

<i>Green spaces in surrounding areas (p. 72)</i>	The pedestrian connections between the two banks of the rivulet have a fundamental role as far the feeling of security and comfort is concerned, because the path along the rivulet is in a valley.
<i>Green spaces (p. 207)</i>	In consideration of the lack of green spaces, the implementation of the plan will benefit the area. It is however necessary that these spaces will be looked after and security guaranteed, so that they can fulfil their function.
<i>Employment characterization (p. 262)</i>	The persistent deficiencies of waste collection; the scarce quality of riverside areas and poor hygiene of public space; the poor public spaces, urban design, and landscape design, in general; and some insecurity connected to robberies and vandalism have been causing the reduction of tourism in the municipality.
<i>Measures for preventing or avoiding negative externalities of the plan (p. 298)</i>	[Among the measures for management of public spaces:] Increasing security through policing and further complementary means, in order to guarantee safety of people and goods.

The plan has been debated three times, without references to urban security³².

Barreiro

Only one detailed plan has been designed in Barreiro during the last decade, the PU Quimiparque and surrounding areas, about the reconversion of a former industrial plant – some other plans have been abandoned or converted into urban regeneration projects (cf. § 4.2.4). References to urban security were made neither in the documents, nor during the debate for the approval of the plan³³.

4.2.4. Urban regeneration

Urban regeneration, reconversion, and restructuring are priorities in the three municipalities, and 40 out of 55 detailed plans analysed belong to these kinds of actions (see Tables 2). In general, planners in Lisbon and Barreiro consider urban regeneration as the scale where urban security has a most relevant relation with, and explicit presence in, spatial planning (L1; L4; B3; B4). This section therefore sketches the general approach to urban regeneration in the three municipalities, before

³² Minutes of meeting CMC 19.01.2004, approval of guidelines; Minutes of meeting CMC 21.03.2007, update of agreements; Minutes of meeting Municipal Assembly of Cascais 24.01.2011, final approval.

³³ Minutes of meeting Municipal Assembly of Barreiro 26.06.2012.

debating further urban regeneration programmes explicitly mentioned by the planners as relevant for urban security.

In Lisbon, in addition to detailed plans, the Priority Intervention Neighbourhoods and Areas programme (Bairros e Zonas de Intervenção Prioritária, BIP/ZIP), launched in 2010, promotes partnerships among local stakeholders for micro-actions for regeneration (cf. CML, 2014). Moreover, stimulus of real-estate refurbishment has been at the core of municipal policy: the town masterplan approved in 2012 has extended to the whole urban areas the eligibility for fiscal stimulus, and a specific charter has been approved in 2011 (CML, 2011). Moreover, a specific unit, the division for Urban Refurbishment, integrates the municipal department for Planning and Urban Regeneration.

According to the guidelines of the town plan in design in Barreiro, all areas urbanized before 1980s will be considered eligible for fiscal stimulus for refurbishment and regeneration programmes. As a consequence, out of the 5 PPs that were been designed for the regeneration of historic districts, one (Barreiro Antigo, see below) has been and four (Coina, Lavradio, Palhais, Santo António da Charneca) will be converted in “studies” (B4) without normative cogency. The unit responsible for regeneration is the multi-disciplinary team for Regeneration of Urban Areas.

The municipality of Cascais has been and is being promoting urban regeneration through PPs, and neither a specific policy nor a dedicated unit are identified.

As far as urban regeneration is concerned, the issue of informal settlements and urban areas (Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal, AUGIs) is to be mentioned. The Law 91/1995 officially recognized the existence of several AUGIs in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto and regulated the reconversion processes³⁴. In the three municipalities, a dedicated unit exist: in Lisbon, the cabinet for the Support of Priority Intervention Neighbourhoods in AUGIs (Gabinete de Apoio aos Bairros de Intervenção Prioritária em AUGIs, GABIP-AUGI); in Cascais the division for Regularization of AUGIs (Divisão de Licenciamento AUGI); in Barreiro de multi-disciplinary team AUGIs (Equipa Multidisciplinar AUGIs, EMAUGI).

³⁴ For a debate on the law and its effects, see Raposo, Valente (2010).

Urban regeneration of Mouraria

Numerous actions for the regeneration of Mouraria neighbourhood have been coordinated under a unique strategy since 2008³⁵: ten actions funded by the BIP/ZIP program; the Mouraria, as Cidades dentro da Cidade (Mouraria, the Cities within the City) programme funded under the “social cohesion” axis of the Lisbon framework program for structural funds (2007–2013) and afterwards, through a successful bid at the municipal participatory budget by local grass-roots (2011); twenty-three projects carried out under a community development plan. Mouraria is a historic neighbourhood in the centre of Lisbon, strongly stigmatised, also in relation to its characterisation as place of election for immigrant communities (cf. Tulumello, Ferro, 2013). The strategy fosters social cohesion and local development through a mix of actions, under three pillars: refurbishing public spaces; driving entrepreneurship, tourism, traditional handicraft, and local heritage; improving services with special attention to vulnerable groups.

According to the chief planner (L1)

[It is a] flagship programme [...] especially relevant as far as security is concerned. [...] I consider this an interesting programme because, in the past, securization approaches had been attempted in that area [Mouraria], because it was strongly characterized by prostitution and drug-dealing. Among the historic districts, it was the only one that Lisboners neither knew, nor frequented, because of marginal areas. Now Lisboners frequent it.

[...] The perception of the area changed completely. [...] This was achieved, rather than through securization (policing, rounding up), though the intervention of local actors and social development plans.

Urban regeneration of Barreiro Antigo

The CMB preliminarily approved the project for the urban regeneration of Barreiro Antigo in 2012. Barreiro Antigo is the main historic district of the city, experiencing a long-term decay because of the loss of inhabitants. The project addresses urban security in relation with urban image and identity (DPGU-CMB, 2011, p. 12).

As far as identity is concerned, Barreiro Antigo is somehow a paradox. On the one hand, it is acknowledged and valorised as the symbol of the municipal cultural heritage because of its unique urban qualities, but, on the other, it spreads an image of decay [*degradação*], poverty, and absence of life quality.

[...] As a matter of fact, the area of Barreiro Antigo has been characterized by the presence of non-

³⁵ See www.aimouraria.cm-lisboa.pt/ for details about the second and third programme.

stable populations [*um tipo de população flutuante*], coming from outside the neighbourhood to enjoy of a kind of retail offer unique in the municipality. The proliferation of bars, restaurants, and night-clubs has brought about specific typologies of people [*um tipo específico de população*], which barely identify with residents and thus misappropriate urban spaces without right. This misappropriation often brings about marginal life-styles [*um tipo de vivência, dado por vezes à marginalidade*], resulting in feelings of insecurity and intolerance by residents of night-time users. Moreover, squatting of houses by populations of Gipsy ethnicity have been characterizing recent years, bringing about negative reactions by long-term residents. New residents bring about specific forms of social behaviour, which influence the relationships in, and within, public space. [This behaviours] clash with commons and habits of long-term residents, who ascribe to the new residents the responsibility for a worsened image of public space. Moreover, [long-term residents] associate new residents with increased insecurity perceived in the neighbourhood. Further problems highlighted are the deterioration of the built environment, irregular floorings, noise, street cleaning, lack of policing, drug-dealing and presence of drug addicted.

The chief planner for urban regeneration (B4) stresses how (in)security and perceptions of it act as a restraint to the (real-estate) development of the area: «insecurity is very high in this area. And potential investors already told us: “as long as problems of insecurity are not solved, we are not going to invest here”».

The project envisages three typologies of actions: stimulus to the refurbishment of the historic built environment; local mobility planning; regeneration of public spaces. The works for the refurbishment on of the waterfront park, in the northern edge of the district, are ongoing.

Urban regeneration of Quinta da Mina

The programme Cidade para Todos (City for Everybody) for the regeneration of Quinta da Mina has been funded (7,3 M€) by the national framework programme for structural funds (2007–2013). Quinta da Mina is a 1980s residential development bought by the municipality during the 1990s with funds of the national Special Re-housing Programme (Programa Especial de Realojamento, PER) in order to re-house around 100 households previously living in informal settlements. The bid for the framework programme stresses socio-economic exclusion and poverty of the re-housed households, and reports some spaces of conflict connected with the co-existence of different ethnic groups, mainly Gypsies and populations from the former Portuguese colonies (CMB, no date, p.5):

The difficulties of integration and inclusion of households rehoused in Quinta da Mina stems from a multiplicity of factors, both endogenous and exogenous to the rehoused community:

- Specific cultural behaviours;

- The lodging in high-rise buildings;
- The forced settlement (in absence of further opportunities);
- The absence of grass-root associations;
- Deficits of public social services.

These factors produce negative feelings and practices, which are visible in the neighbourhood (degradation of the built environment), inside the flats, and in surrounding areas as well.

The planners in charge (B3, B4) stress the spaces for insecurity connected with urban decay and latent conflict. The programme is designed around three lines (CMB, 2009): social cohesion and empowerment; built environment and public space refurbishment; economic dynamism.

4.2.5. Public participation in planning

This section furthers the exploration of spatial planning practice through a review of the policies of, and approaches to, public participation. During recent years, and especially in the aftermath of the economic crisis, local authorities in the metropolitan area of Lisbon have been carrying out several participatory experiences, especially through the use of participatory budgeting (Alves, Allegretti, 2012; Seixas et al., 2015). This is the case of the three municipalities studied, albeit with different approaches. The main differentiation is around the use of deliberative or consultative tools: deliberative experiences have been carried out in Lisbon and Cascais, and both cities implement yearly participatory budgeting; on the contrary, the approach to public participation in Barreiro is limited to a consultative level³⁶.

Two participatory programmes, one in Lisbon and one in Cascais, are relevant for urban security policy-making. Firstly, the process for the Agenda 21 in Lisbon has produced some requests for urban security policies. Secondly, civil servants in Cascais (C4) mentioned a rehousing programme carried out during 1990s with a participatory approach as a successful practice for the capacity of preventing spaces for conflict and feelings of insecurity.

³⁶ From the CMB website: «participatory democracy in Barreiro is grounded on four main axes: debating with stakeholders before decisions are taken; fulfilling what is promised; informing on what is done; justifying what is not fulfilled» (from www.cm-barreiro.pt/pt/conteudos/Participacao+Democracia+e+Cidadania/participacao.htm [last access 01-12-2014]).

Agenda 21 of Lisbon

The Agenda 21 of Lisbon (A21) has been carried out between 2010 and 2012 on three scales: A21 Zona da Cidade (A21 Urban Area), which covers five parishes (Ameixoeira, Carnide, Charneca, Benfica, Lumiar) in the north of the city; A21 de Bairro (A21 Neighbourhood) in five neighbourhoods selected through a competitive process; A21 de Nível do Cidadão (A21 Citizen), which supports micro-actions proposed by citizens.

The actual participatory process has been carried out within the Bairro 21 level. The neighbourhoods selected were: three council housing neighbourhoods (PER da Ameixoeira, Quinta do Charquinho, Padre Cruz), an illegal settlement in reconversion process (Quinta do Reguengo), and a middle class residential district (Telheiras). The analysis of the participatory process shows several criticisms (Falanga, 2013, pp. 205-209): a limited involvement of participants, insufficient space and time for debate, a rigid organizational structure that failed to actually open the decision-making.

The analysis of the action plans produced by the working team shows the presence of urban security issues and measures in four out of five neighbourhoods (Civitas 21, 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2012d; 2012e).

PER da Ameixoeira

<i>Weaknesses (p. 55)</i>	Neighbourhood subject to phenomena of social segregation and territorial stigmatization. Feelings of insecurity. Presence of illicit activities (drug-dealing, weapon-trafficking, etc.).
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Quinta do Charquinho

<i>Weaknesses (p.33)</i>	Insecurity because of robberies, with most occurrences in the Southern part of the neighbourhood.
<i>Strategic objectives (p. 38)</i>	Increase security for residents, workers, and users.
<i>Action 2.2. Network for security and surveillance (p. 60)</i>	<p><i>Objectives</i></p> <p>Creating and supporting organized group(s) of residents concerned with civil protection and security in the neighbourhood. The group(s), in agreement with competent authorities, will contribute to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enact effective response in cases of emergency (natural disasters or further accidents); • Foster citizenship values and feelings of security of residents, workers, and users of the neighbourhood.

Padre Cruz

<i>Built environment (p. 27)</i>	Spaces that impede natural surveillance are found (e.g. tunnels, hidden corners, etc.), creating conditions for marginal behaviours [sic, <i>comportamentos marginais</i>]. However, it can be assumed that insecurity feelings are not generalized, as evident by the absence of iron grating in most windows at the ground level and the customs of placing personal goods in outside spaces.
<i>Weaknesses (p.52)</i>	Image, stigma and prejudices associated to the neighbourhood. Coexistence of residents with different ethnic backgrounds, which increases the risk

<p>Action 4.2. Regeneration of public space (p. 108)</p>	<p>of social and racial conflicts, as well as insecurity. Social isolation boosts criminality and marginality. [The refurbishment of public spaces] will generate employment (through the creation of kiosks), therefore improving quality of life for everybody, as well as security.</p>
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Telheiras

<p>Weaknesses (p.39)</p>	<p>Some feelings of insecurity about crime (robberies and vandalism), increased by poor maintenance of some dwellings, scarce lightning in some corners, and public accessible corridors raised over the ground level, where surveillance is scarce.</p>
<p>Strategic objectives (p. 46)</p>	<p>Increase security for residents, workers, and users.</p>
<p>Action 4.1. Network for security and surveillance (p. 86)</p>	<p>(Same project than in Quinta do Charquinho, see above).</p>
<p>Action 4.2. Neighbourhood walks (p. 88)</p>	<p>Creating a group of residents available for implementing organized walks in the neighbourhood. This group aims to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foster physical activity in order to counter sedentarism and promote healthy life-styles; • Engage the community in practices that increase life quality and well-being; • (Re)discover Telheiras; • Act as patrol, discouraging marginal behaviours [sic, <i>comportamentos marginais</i>] and crime occurrences in order to increase security feelings.

Special Programme for Rehousing (PER/CASCAIS)

The national Special Programme for Rehousing (Programa Especial de Realojamento, PER) carried out during the 1990s has effectively contributed to the eradication of slums (*bairros de lata*) in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. However, the PER has been debated and criticized prior (see Guerra, 1994) and after its implementation. Cachado (2013, p. 148) summarizes:

Rather than taking in account mistakes of 1960s and 1970s, hence looking for new models, Portuguese rehousing policies reproduce, in the PER, the kind of post-war European council housing, building small ghettos [*gueto*] in metropolitan suburbs.

The case of Cascais (PER/CASCAIS) is seen as an exception, thanks to the implementation of a «participatory and structured process of socio-territorial development» (Freitas, 2002, p. 23). When the PER/CASCAIS was launched, in 1993,

with the objective of rehousing around 2.000 persons, a multi-disciplinary team was created inside the CMB. According to the team leader (C4), «we did not want to make rehousing like it was used to be, with those gigantic neighbourhoods ». The Social Ecology team from the Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil was asked to elaborate a strategic document in collaboration with the municipal team. The strategy was grounded on four main principles (GES, 1995, p. 10):

- [acting] simultaneously on several dimensions: architectural, planning, social, cultural, economic, etc.;
- acknowledging and respecting existing social dynamics, ensuring taking advantage of their function of symbolic representativeness and social mediation, [...] fostering the autonomy of populations, and supporting and stimulating the exercise of citizenship rights;
- [enacting] an encounter and compromise framework;
- [engaging with] different actors [...] [through] active participation.

According to the team leader (C4), the programme was successful because of: the successful engagement of rehoused communities as well as those from the neighbourhoods where the new dwellings were located; the design of low-rise dwellings in medium-density settlements. During the whole process, front offices were installed both in the slums to be demolished and in the neighbourhoods where the new dwellings were placed. As a result, most households abandoned the former houses voluntarily³⁷ and no meaningful conflicts arose after the rehousing. On the contrary, the integration process has been more complex in the Adroana neighbourhood, where the biggest settlement – 272 total apartments, of which 129 for rehoused households – was designed despite the negative opinion of the PER/CASCAIS team.

A telling case was the rehousing of the community from Bairro das Marianas. Marianas was «a settlement considered, you know... a lot of “Bissau-Guineans”, a lot of “Africans”, drugs, whatever...» (C4). However, despite the presence of some drug dealers, the community was mainly made of construction workers and their households (C4). 24 households were appointed for been rehoused in the Carcavelos parish and, during preliminary meetings with “hosting” communities, several persons protested against the rehousing. The team leader reports the paradoxical case of a mixed-race fellow complaining «we don’t want black folks [*pretos*, which is a strongly disparaging term] here!». The team therefore had to mediate during several months. Once the process was completed, the rehoused community was capable of integrating in the neighbourhood and the long-term residents of the area were somehow “surprised”: «[people

³⁷ On the contrary, the demolition of slums has often faced protests in other municipalities.

said:] “you did not rehoused people from Marianas! They are all civil officers, aren’t they? They behave so well!”» (C4).

4.3. Social development plans

This study so far has explored policies explicitly designed for urban security and the relation between urban security and spatial planning policy. Municipalities carry out further, mostly sectoral, policies and actions. And, from a perspective of social prevention, some of such policies and actions indirectly contribute to security (cf. Section 1). However, an analysis of all policies and actions carried out by a given municipality in a given moment is an unattainable task. Hence, there is still a need to find a way into a deeper understanding of the approaches of the three municipalities to the social prevention of crime (if any).

This section reviews the social development plans designed by the local partnerships for social intervention³⁸ with this aim. The three plans, stemming from a collaborative process lead by the municipalities, set the guidelines for public and third-sector action in social intervention and inclusion (see below) – i.e. in crucial fields for social prevention of crime (C1; C4; cf. Section 1). The analysis of the most recent versions of the plans can therefore help understanding the perspective of the three municipalities and relevant actors in relation to social prevention of crime. The plans are typically made of a socio-territorial analysis (Diagnóstico Social) and a strategic/guidelines section (Plano de Desenvolvimento Social).

Social Development Plan 2013/2015 of Lisbon

In the socio-territorial analysis, the relationships between the socio-economic and urban security dimensions is refined as such (RSL, 2009, p. 20):

Cities encompass significant inequalities in social and economic opportunities. Inequalities can be spatial (among neighbourhoods), social (among groups), or often both. As a matter of fact, inequalities are often larger among neighbourhoods in a city than among different cities. This affects attractiveness, competitiveness, social inclusion, and security of cities.

The document therefore enlists the thematic fields for socio-economic intervention: healthy city;

³⁸ Rede Social de Lisboa (www.redesocial-lisboa.pt/), Rede Social de Cascais (www.redesocialcascais.net), and Rede Social de Barreiro (no website).

grow up with opportunities; from vulnerability to inclusion; cultural diversity; active ageing; service quality. Urban security is addressed in the section about cultural diversity, among the list of needs and critical issues (p. 119):

Existence of conflicts and strain in council housing neighbourhood where immigrants, their descendants, and Gipsy people are majority groups.

Perceptions of insecurity associated with presence of immigrants.

The intervention strategy therefore envisages the implementation of integrated programmes for the inclusion of social groups.

The plan document is set out around five “challenges” (RSL, 2012): organized citizenship; inclusive city, healthy city, social entrepreneurship, social innovation networks. The “organized citizenships” section is complemented with the guidelines for a model for inter-institutional coordination and negotiation in regard to interventions against violence (p. 15).

Social Development Plan 2012/2015 of Cascais

The social development programme (2012/2015) of Cascais is set out in four dimensions of “well-being” (CLAS, 2012, p. 50):

1. Equality of rights and absence of discrimination;
2. Dignity and identity;
3. Autonomy and individual development;
4. Participation and engagement of civil society.

The “mission” is envisaged around three themes (p. 55).

1. Reduce poverty and social exclusion, fostering access to fundamental rights, fighting difficulties felt by who is different [sic, *quem é diferente*] or is weak, and fostering social responsibility;
2. Foster healthy lifestyles and individual, familiar, and employability development of vulnerable individuals and groups;
3. Invest in quality public facilities and social services, fostering socio-territorial equity in the access to them.

As far as urban security is explicitly concerned, the SWOT analysis refers to the progressive reduction of feelings of security (p. 16). Proximity patrolling and security programmes are envisaged in the section about “housing and habitat”, with the aim of « fostering accessible and safe public spaces» (p. 63).

Social Development Plan 2010/2012 of Barreiro

The analysis document (CLASB, 2009) approaches urban security around three dimensions. Firstly, it sets out an analysis of data about youths and risk behaviours (pp. 131-134). Secondly, it stresses the role of proximity patrolling (p. 217):

Police authorities perform, according to their specificities, an important role for the community of Barreiro, through proximity patrolling, other special programmes (Safe Schools; Children and Youths at Risk; Support to Crime Victims; Security for Seniors; Domestic Violence), and taking part to local partnerships.

Thirdly, urban security is specifically addressed in the section dedicated to an in-depth analysis of the “critical neighbourhood” Bairro das Palmeiras³⁹, around (p. 273):

Existence of deviant/marginal [sic, *marginais*] behaviours that prejudice cohesion.
Problems and insecurities because of marginal activities [sic, *atividades marginais*] in the neighbourhood.

Hence, among the strategic objectives for the neighbourhood, it is found (p. 277):

Countering territorial segregation and removing stigmatizing factors, through: stimulus to refurbishment of the built environment; redefinition of neighbourhood’s edges, through the integration of adjacent areas; integration of the neighbourhood with adjacent urban areas, through removal of physical barriers and urban restructuring in surrounding areas.

The plan document, which was not renovated after its end in 2012, was designed around four strategic objectives (CLASB, 2010):

1. Institutional dynamics / Intervention quality.
2. Social cohesion / Integration of vulnerable groups.
3. Formation / Professional training and employment.
4. School improvement and integration.

The document makes no specific references to urban security.

³⁹ Further “critical” neighbourhoods mentioned in the document are Barreiro Velho (see Section 4.2.4) and Quinta da Amoreira.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The report has set out an analysis of local policies for urban security, and their relations with the institutional practice of spatial planning, in three municipalities of the metropolitan area of Lisbon (AML). The report is opened (Section 1) by a theoretical introduction of security as a three-fold concept – a right, a social demand, a policy goal – and the role of spatial planning for urban security. Section 2 framed the national context around the (contradictory) relations between crime rates and (in)security feelings, and the centralization of the Portuguese state and implications for security policy. Section 3 frames the cases of Lisbon, Cascais and Barreiro municipalities, whereas the findings of the empirical analysis are presented in Section 4. This concluding section sets out some remarks around four layers for debate: urban security between the national and local scale; urban security as a policy goal for local authorities; urban security within planning practice; future developments for the research.

Urban security in the AML and Portugal

Although, since at least a decade, crimes that (can) influence personal security – violent crimes, crimes against the property, offences against the person – show stable or decreasing trends on very low levels at the international comparison, the social demand for security has been recently growing in Portugal. This is the case for AML as well: the metropolis of Lisbon remains one of the safest big European cities – albeit it is the urban area showing the highest crime rates in the country – but shows relatively high feelings of insecurity.

Social requests for security are mirrored by growing institutional concerns. The last years of the past decade marked a turning point, with reinforcements of (urban) security policy-making, albeit with different approaches at the national and local levels. The focus at the national level is on repression, crime enforcement, and situational prevention. Local institutions have been concerned with prevention. The scalar relations between the two levels are manifold: the Portuguese central(ized) state advocates for itself the exclusive competence on security at the same time as it

concedes some role to local authorities around the concept of subsidiarity. Local authorities, conscious of their (potential) role for urban security, have been betting on innovation in order to gain room for manoeuvre.

Urban security as a policy goal in the AML

The cases analysed have offered a broad palette of policy designs for, and approaches to, urban security. Two opposite but complementary trends shall be highlighted.

On the one hand, the AML has been a place of experimentation, although with several inconsistencies in implementation, as evident in some policies: community patrolling in Lisbon, for the efforts to design police enforcement together with local communities; the strategic plan for urban security in Cascais, for the efforts to ground situational prevention means on evidence bases; the safety audit in Barreiro, for the explicit intention to question the relations between perceptions of (in)security and actual dangers. On the other hand, some situational prevention policies were implemented as a way to answer the social demand for security without questioning the demands themselves. This is the case of CCTV systems in Lisbon and the decision to implement a strategic plan for urban security in Cascais despite very low crime rates.

Social development plans were screened in order to explore approaches towards long-term social prevention. Security and feelings of insecurity are often mentioned in diagnosis phases, whereas the fields stressed for intervention are: social cohesion and inclusion of social groups; proximity patrolling; specific problems in council housing and, more generally, socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods.

Among the criteria for the selection of cases, one has been the opportunity to compare three municipalities with different, and relatively stable, politico-ideological traditions. According to common senses, one would expect more “securitarian” and less “social” approaches to local policies moving from left-wing towards right-wing political traditions. As a matter of fact, policy makers in Barreiro (left-wing) showed a more “critical” approach to urban security, whereas in Cascais (centre-right) the focus is more explicitly on crime prevention. Lisbon (centre-left) shows a more complex frame made of different trends, with a less explicitly ideological all-round approach.

However, the analysis of further policies – i.e. urban regeneration and social development plans – denied any clear correlation between politico-ideological traditions and political approaches to urban security, suggesting that more nuanced understandings are needed.

Spatial planning and urban security in the AML

The analysis of recently designed and implemented planning policies has highlighted how the three cities are characterised by very different institutional cultures of spatial planning⁴⁰. To sum up, the cases of Barreiro, Cascais, and Lisbon mark, in this order, a gradual approximation from a “land-use management” towards a “strategic spatial” paradigm for planning practice⁴¹. Moving towards a strategic spatial approach, town masterplans shift their focus from regulations towards strategic indications, whereas detailed planning assumes a more central role for the implementation – at the regulatory and design scale – of general strategies.

This has implications for different relations between spatial planning and urban security. The latter is understood, in Lisbon and Cascais, as a general aim in strategic guidelines, a background issue underlying detailed planning policies, and a subject for specific recommendations at the scale of urban design. References to urban security are absent in land-use regulations and related documents. However, planners in Lisbon and Cascais stress the role of the urban fabric – and thus of the regulations for achieving a desirable one – for (perceptions of) security. On the contrary, urban security is absent in town and detailed planning in Barreiro, characterized by a planning paradigm more oriented towards land-use regulation.

Urban regeneration is unanimously considered the scale where urban security is more pertinent to spatial planning policies. Approaches towards social prevention are embedded in urban regeneration policy in Lisbon and Barreiro. As far as situational and environmental prevention is concerned, no environmental means to crime prevention, such as CPTED, have been implemented so far. However, approaches to urban design in

⁴⁰ See Knieling and Othengrafen (2009) about the concept of “planning cultures”.

⁴¹ According to Ferrão (2011, pp. 38-39), the main mission of land-use management is the regulation of land uses and territorial transformation, whereas a strategic spatial paradigm is a more comprehensive, integrated and strategic understanding of spatial planning, grounded on interactions and cooperation among actors, and coordination of territorial and sectoral policies.

Lisbon and Cascais explicitly mention the role of some spatial characterizations – lightning, design of and activities in public spaces – for crime prevention.

The participatory approaches within spatial planning practice in Lisbon and Cascais reveal a double-faced relation with urban security. On the one hand, some programmes have been able to effectively overcome spaces for conflict, rhetoric on degradation and crime, and insecurity feelings through: the construction of mutual trust between actors (PER/CASCAIS); socio-cultural development grounded on the presence of strong local grass-root fabrics (urban regeneration in Mouraria in Lisbon). On the other hand, the Agenda 21 of Lisbon shows how, in participatory policies, the social demand for urban security might lead to questionable practices such as voluntary patrolling replicated without specific adaptations in very different contexts.

Future developments

The report presented the findings of a preliminary and exploratory work, which should be considered as a first step towards further empirical researches, critical insights, and theoretical sophistications, around two main dimensions, one comparative, one methodological.

On the one hand, a better generalization at the scale of the metropolitan area of Lisbon – to be pursued through the possible extension of the study to further municipalities –, together with comparisons with cities in different regions, would allow a better exploration of the roles of different planning cultures and politico-ideological traditions.

On the other hand, two kinds of approaches and analyses are crucial in order to pursue further critical understandings. Firstly, the relations between the urban geographies of insecurity and those of security policies need to be explored: this can be pursued through the overlapping of maps of spatial entities connected with feelings of urban fear (see Tulumello, 2013; forthcoming) with spatial representations of the analysed policies – CCTV systems, priority intervention areas, urban regeneration programmes. Secondly, localized, small-scale analyses are needed: it is my opinion that the implementation of case-studies through participative observation methods is the ultimate way to understand the effectiveness of local policies for/around security, how

they are perceived – in terms of reduction of insecurity feelings –, and how local citizenships contribute to the building of secure and inclusive societies.

From a theoretical perspective, thus, and according to the findings of the report, four dualities need to be explored in-depth. Two dualities refer to urban security as a goal for (local) policies: security as social demand and/versus security as a public good; security in-between evidence-based approaches and political/discursive relations of power. Two further dualities refer to urban security as a layer for spatial planning: urban security and multi-scalar levels of spatial governance/government – i.e. relationships between competences at the local and supra-local scale and the coordination between different planning tools; urban security as a background/foreground thematic in spatial planning practice.

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Annex 1. List of qualitative interviews and work meetings

	<i>Position/Department</i>	<i>Policies</i>		<i>Ref.</i>
<i>Lisbon</i>	Chief planner, director of department Spatial Planning and Urban Regeneration	Town planning, strategic planning, detailed planning, urban regeneration	Interview	L1
	Assistant of former municipal councillor for Civil Protection (2009-2013)	Urban security policy, CCTV, civil protection	Work meeting	L2
	Officer, deputy commander Municipal Police; Sociologist, Municipal Police	Municipal police, community patrolling, CCTV	Focus group	L3
	Chief planner, head of division Spatial Planning	Detailed planning	Interview	L4
	Head of division Traffic Management	CCTV	Work meeting	L5
<i>Cascais</i>	Chief planner, director of department Urban Regeneration; Head of division Valorization of Resources; Civil servant, team Psychological Support in Emergency Occurrences	Civil protection, housing and social intervention	Focus group	C1
	Director of department Civil Protection	Civil protection, CCTV	Interview	C2
	Officer, head of division Municipal Police	Municipal police, CCTV	Work meeting	C3
	Director of department Housing and Social Development; Head of division Social Intervention II	Housing and social intervention, rehousing	Focus group	C4
	Owner and president of Skild Security SA	Strategic planning for security, CCTV	Interview	C5
	Chief planner, municipal director of Strategy and Innovation	Town planning, strategic planning	Interview	C6
	Chief planner, head of division Spatial Planning	Detailed planning	Interview	C7
	Officer, director department Municipal Police and Inspection	Municipal police, CCTV, strategic planning for security	Interview	C8
<i>Barreiro</i>	Councillor for Civil Protection; Coordinator of cabinet Civil Protection	Civil protection, local security audit	Work meeting	B1
	Coordinator of cabinet Civil Protection; Consultant, coordinator of local security audit	Local security audit	Work meeting	B2
	Chief planner, head of division Planning and Urban Management	Town planning, urban regeneration	Interview	B3
	Chief planner, multidisciplinary team Urban Regeneration	Urban regeneration	Interview	B4
	Chief planner, multidisciplinary team Illegal Settlements Reconversion	Illegal settlements reversion	Interview	B5
	Councillor for Civil Protection	Local security survey	Interview	B6

Annex 2. List of analysed policies

4.1. Local security policies		
<i>4.1.0. Local implementation of national policies</i>		
Municipal polices (Lisbon and Cascais)		
Civil protection services		
<i>4.1.1. Lisbon</i>	<i>4.1.2. Cascais</i>	<i>4.1.3. Barreiro</i>
Community patrolling	CCTV systems	Local security audit (work in progress)
CCTV systems	Strategic programme for urban security	
Security barometer (work in progress)		
4.2. Planning policies		
<i>Outbox: supra-municipal plans</i>		
National Programme for Spatial Planning Policy (PNPOT, Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território)		
Lisbon Region Masterplan (PROTAML, Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território da Área Metropolitana de Lisboa)		
<i>4.2.1 Town masterplans</i>		
Lisbon: 1994; 2012.		
Cascais: 1996; in public debate.		
Barreiro: 1994; in planning phase.		
<i>4.2.2. Strategic plans</i>		
Lisbon: Lisbon Strategic Charter 2010/2024 (2010)		
Cascais: -		
Barreiro: -		
<i>4.2.3. Detailed plans (launched since 2003)</i>		
<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Cascais</i>	<i>Barreiro</i>
Estação do Oriente; Alto do Lumiar; Alcântara; Bairro Alto e Bica; Mouraria; Alfama e Colina do Castelo (PUs)	Quinta do Barão; Boca do Inferno; Arneiro; Hotel Estoril-Sol; Hotel Miramar; Sede nacional da Brisa; Alcabideche; Biscaia e Figueira do Guincho; Alcorvim de Baixo e Alcorvim de Cima; Areia; Cabreiro; Carcavelos-Sul; Charneca; Malveira da Serra e Janes; Sassoeiros norte; Atrozela; Zambujeiro e Murches; Ecoparque de Trajouce (PPs)	Quimiparque (PU)
Alto dos Moinhos; Mercado de Benfica; Alto de St. Amaro; Av. José Malhoa; Núcleo da Torre; Matinha; Campus de Campolide; Amoreiras; Baixa Pombalina; Boavista Nascente; Azinhaga dos Lameiros; Bairro dos Sete Céus; Calçada das Lajes; Casal do Pinto; Galinheiras; Marques de Abrantes e Alfinetes; Pedreira do Alvito; Parque Mayer; Quinta do Olival e Casal de Abrantes; Calçada da Ajuda; Cidade Universitaria; Colina do Castelo; Luz Benfica; Madragoa; Alvalade XXI; Palacio Nacional da Ajuda; Parque Hospitalar Oriental; Quinta da Bela Flor; Universidade Católica; Quinta da Torrinha (PPs)		
<i>4.2.4. Urban regeneration (other)</i>		
<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Cascais</i>	<i>Barreiro</i>
Urban regeneration of Mouraria	-	Urban regeneration of Barreiro Antigo
		Urban regeneration of Quinta da Mina

<i>4.2.5. Public participation in spatial planning</i>		
<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Cascais</i>	<i>Barreiro</i>
Agenda 21 Local	Special Programme for Rehousing (PER/CASCAIS)	-
3. Social development plans		
<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Cascais</i>	<i>Barreiro</i>
Plano de Desenvolvimento Social 2013/2015	Plano de Desenvolvimento Social 2012/2015	Plano de Desenvolvimento Social 2010/2012

Annex 3. List of actions in the strategic programme for urban security of Cascais

Strategic objective: Strengthening security feelings of citizens	
<i>Strategic action 1</i> <i>Increasing security feelings and the quality of life of citizen</i>	<p>Carry out communication campaigns about crime rates in Cascais.</p> <p>Strengthen coordination and cooperation with local police authorities with the aim of reinforcing patrols in streets with highest crime rates, during hours with highest number of occurrences.</p> <p>Strengthen patrolling in areas with highest circulation of citizens, in order to prevent crimes and anti-social behaviours.</p> <p>Organize public events (fairs, feasts, exhibitions, competitions, festivals) in places perceived as dangerous, fostering community participation.</p> <p>Carry out formation activities about self-protection measures.</p> <p>Strengthen social cohesion and perceptions of belonging to public spaces, so that the community will take part of proactive securization, in collaboration with CMC.</p> <p>Attract people to the city centre, after working hours.</p> <p>Adjust frequencies, timetables, and stopovers of public transport, in order to guarantee connections between the city centre and peripheries after working hours.</p> <p>Create a social intervention programme (or reorganizing those existing), in order to strengthen accompanying measures for youths in situation of risk, aiming at their social integration.</p> <p>Patronize photographic surveys (e.g. through a photographic competition) of those situations that contribute to creating and increasing insecurity feelings.</p> <p>Implement the municipal programme of road safety.</p> <p>Organize, in public spaces, campaigns of alcohol consumption screenings directed to youths.</p>
<i>Strategic action 2</i> <i>Reducing the amount and gravity of effects of crimes and anti-social behaviours, removing signs that cause insecurity and stimulate disrespect of law, improving public spaces</i>	<p>Install CCTV systems in areas most vulnerable to crime and anti-social behaviours.</p> <p>Approve/strengthen municipal bye-laws about social order.</p> <p>Remove graffiti promptly.</p> <p>Fix promptly vandalized furniture in public spaces.</p> <p>Improve lightning in public spaces felt as insecure.</p> <p>Promote, in mass media, a positive image of the city, neutralizing negative representations and creating occasions of positive coverages.</p>
Strategic objective: Strengthening coordination among security actors and intervening appropriately for guaranteeing security of citizens	
<i>Strategic action 1</i> <i>Creating the Consulting Board for Prevention and Security of Cascais Municipality</i>	<p>Create a Consulting Board for Prevention and Security.</p> <p>Evaluate yearly the strategic programme for urban security, according to the dynamic gist of phenomena that generate insecurity, and update the programme to realities and necessities.</p> <p>Create and implement a municipal programme for civil protection</p> <p>Set a partnership between CMC and the General Secretariat of the Internal Security System – entity which centralizes and coordinates the national information about crime.</p>
<i>Strategic action 2</i> <i>Creating an integrated operations centre under direct supervision of city mayor</i>	<p>Create an operations centre for attendance and forwarding, in order to centralize reports and complaint by the public.</p>
Strategic objective: Screening victims and their perceptions about crime and security in the city	
<i>Strategic action 1</i> <i>Knowing victims and their perceptions about crime and security</i>	<p>Carry out biannual victimization surveys with the population of Cascais – to be used for the annual update of the strategic programme.</p>

<p><i>Strategic action 2</i> <i>Strengthen security of tourists</i></p>	<p>Carry out a victimization survey directed to foreigner and Portuguese tourists that were victims of crime.</p> <p>Translate FixCascais (crowdsourcing app for geotagging incidents or dysfunctions) in various languages and using its QR code in touristic information panels.</p> <p>Create a touristic attendance service.</p> <p>Request periodical statistics about crime reported by tourists.</p>
<p>Strategic objective: Preventing crime and reducing victimization</p>	
<p><i>Strategic action 1</i> <i>Reducing thefts in vehicles</i></p>	<p>Identify and arrest perpetrators, in order to neutralize them.</p> <p>Increase patrols in places and hours with highest crime frequencies.</p> <p>Carry out communication campaigns, with the aim of making vehicle users aware of the need to adopt self-protection measures.</p> <p>Improve public lightning.</p> <p>Close most vulnerable car parks in periods of low affluence.</p> <p>Improve the design of car parks, in order to increase visibility and natural surveillance from surrounding areas.</p>
<p><i>Strategic action 2</i> <i>Reducing other thefts</i></p>	<p>Identify and arrest perpetrators, in order to neutralize them.</p> <p>Increase patrols in places and hours with highest crime frequencies.</p> <p>Carry out communication campaigns, with the aim of making citizens aware of the need to adopt self-protection measures.</p> <p>Improve public lightning.</p>
<p><i>Strategic action 3</i> <i>Reducing vandalism</i></p>	<p>Identify and arrest perpetrators, in order to neutralize them.</p> <p>Increase patrols in places and hours with highest crime frequencies.</p> <p>Carry out communication campaigns, with the aim of making citizens aware of the need to adopt self-protection measures.</p> <p>Improve public lightning.</p> <p>Fix promptly vandalized furniture in public spaces.</p>
<p><i>Strategic action 4</i> <i>Reducing pickpocketing</i></p>	<p>Identify and arrest perpetrators, in order to neutralize them.</p> <p>Increase patrols in places and hours with highest crime frequencies.</p> <p>Carry out communication campaigns, with the aim of making citizens aware of the need to adopt self-protection measures.</p> <p>Set partnerships with public transport entities with the aim of reinforcing surveillance in stations, stopovers, and vehicles.</p>
<p><i>Strategic action 5</i> <i>Reducing thefts of vehicles</i></p>	<p>Identify and arrest perpetrators, in order to neutralize them.</p> <p>Increase patrols in places and hours with highest crime frequencies.</p> <p>Carry out communication campaigns, with the aim of making citizens aware of the need to adopt self-protection measures.</p> <p>Improve public lightning and install CCTV systems in main car parks.</p>
<p><i>Strategic action 6</i> <i>Reducing burglaries</i></p>	<p>Identify and arrest perpetrators, in order to neutralize them.</p> <p>Carry out communication campaigns, with the aim of making citizens aware of the need to adopt self-protection measures.</p>
<p><i>Strategic action 7</i> <i>Reducing robberies in public spaces</i></p>	<p>Identify and arrest perpetrators, in order to neutralize them.</p> <p>Increase patrols in places and hours with highest crime frequencies.</p> <p>Carry out communication campaigns, with the aim of making citizens aware of the need to adopt self-protection measures.</p> <p>Install CCTV systems in areas with highest frequency of crimes.</p> <p>Create “secure public spaces”, with good lightning and furniture, in order to guarantee presence of people and visual control from surrounding areas.</p>
<p><i>Strategic action 8</i> <i>Reducing burglaries in commercial or industrial facilities</i></p>	<p>Identify and arrest perpetrators, in order to neutralize them.</p> <p>Increase patrols in places and hours with highest crime frequencies.</p> <p>Carry out communication campaigns, with the aim of making entrepreneurs aware of the need to adopt self-protection measures.</p>

Strategic objective: Support and protect senior citizens, for their vulnerability to risks*Strategic action 1*

Create the Municipal Attorney of Senior Citizens.

Reducing feelings of vulnerability of senior citizens

Create the cabinet of Municipal Attorney of Senior Citizens.

Create an interactive platform website, under the responsibility of the attorney, directed towards senior citizens.

Annex 4. Main characterizations of and excerpts from town masterplans

Lisbon			
Year		1993	2012
Plan typology		Land-use planning (coordinated with a strategic plan)	Mixed normative-strategic
Public participation		None	Public debate on a semi-definitive proposal
Plan/strategic objectives		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Revalorização da função habitacional no conjunto da cidade e, em particular, na sua área central. 2. Estabilização do tecido urbano consolidado com prioridade à área central da cidade 3. Requalificação da estrutura funcional/terciária e desenvolvimento de novas centralidades 4. Reconversão da Zona Industrial Oriental para serviços avançados de apoio à indústria e para desenvolvimento da Plataforma Logística de Lisboa 5. Valorização da Qualidade Ambiental de Lisboa 6. Melhoria da acessibilidade/mobilidade na Área Central da cidade 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Recuperar, rejuvenescer e equilibrar socialmente a população de Lisboa. 2. Promover a reabilitação e a regeneração urbana, alargando o conceito de área histórica a toda a Cidade consolidada como forma de defesa e valorização do seu património histórico, cultural e paisagístico. 3. Tornar Lisboa uma cidade amigável, segura e inclusiva. 4. Promover uma cidade ambientalmente sustentável e eficiente na forma como utiliza os recursos, incentivando a utilização de recursos renováveis, uma correta gestão de resíduos, a agricultura urbana e a continuidade dos sistemas naturais e aumentando a resiliência urbana. 5. Promover uma cidade inovadora e criativa, capaz de competir num contexto global e gerar riqueza e emprego. 6. Afirmer a identidade de Lisboa num mundo globalizado. 7. Criar um modelo de governo eficiente participado e financeiramente sustentável.
References to urban security	Plan objectives	None	Tornar Lisboa uma cidade amigável, segura e inclusiva.
	Strategic reports	None	Alguns dos bairros municipais, ou partes deles, carecem de investimentos urbanísticos específicos, nomeadamente ao nível de vias de comunicação e transportes, de modo a contrariar, se não mesmo impedir, os fenómenos de isolamento que hoje se manifestam (por exemplo, na Ameixoeira, na Zona da Alta de Lisboa e no Bairro 2 de Maio). Estes fenómenos são muitas vezes acompanhados de uma maior frequência de atos de vandalismo ou criminalidade, com o consequente agravamento da sensação de insegurança entre os residentes e visitantes. Verificam-se também problemas graves de relacionamento e vizinhança, por vezes associados a conflitos inter-étnicos, que agravam a falta de coesão social e dificultam a emergência de vivências comunitárias. Intervenções ao nível do espaço público e dos equipamentos desportivos e de proximidade podem constituir uma ferramenta importante na melhoria da coesão do bairro, que não dispensa contudo uma atuação visando o desenvolvimento social com os moradores e os parceiros locais (Report).
	Regulations	None	None
	Other	None	Contudo, não podem ser negligenciados alguns aspetos que podem ser decisivos e tomados em consideração aquando da escolha do local para residir. Neste contexto, e para o caso particular de Lisboa, atenda-se aos principais fatores de insatisfação com a cidade, apontados pelo universo de inquiridos pela Marktest, com particular destaque para a poluição (40,3%); insegurança (26,9%); espaços degradados (24,4%) e dificuldades de estacionamento (23,5%), que nefastamente podem contribuir para afastar ou inibir qualquer pretensão em residir na cidade (Characterization report).

Cascais			
Year		1997	2014 (preliminary plan in public debate)
Plan typology		Land-use planning	Mixed normative-strategic
Public participation		No	Public debate on a semi-definitive proposal
Plan/strategic objectives		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Instituição do sistema municipal de planeamento. 2- Elaboração dos planos gerais de circulação e gestão da via pública. 3. Prosseguir a reestruturação e requalificação da rede ferroviária no concelho de Cascais. 4. Conduzir os planos municipais de intervenção na floresta. 5. Elaboração dos planos municipais de ordenamento do território das unidades operativas de planeamento e gestão. 6. Iniciar e prosseguir uma política sistemática de instruir programas de investimento direccionados à reabilitação do património cultural edificado. 7. Programação e implementação da rede geral de equipamentos. 8. Consecução do acordo geral de adesão ao programa especial de realojamento. 9. Institucionalização do conselho coordenador de infra-estruturas básicas. 10. Implementação do plano estratégico para a área do turismo. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Território com qualidade de vida urbana: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Promover a capacidade e policentrismo do território; ii. Criar espaços públicos de qualidade e de proximidade; iii. Promover a conectividade territorial. 2. Território de criatividade, cohecimento e inovação: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Estimular a competição e a cooperação, criando novos nós de valor acrescentado; ii. Estimular a atividade económica de elevado perfil. 3. Território de valores ambientais: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Reduzir a pressão sobre os recursos; ii. Encorajar e facilitar a consciência ecológica. 4. Território coeso e inclusivo: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Apostar na diversidade social; ii. Fomentar a dinamização social inclusiva. 5. Território de cidadania ativa: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Impulsionar a democracia de proximidade.
References to urban security	Plan objectives	None	<p>Eixo estratégico 4.i.</p> <p>. Promoção do território inclusivo, para todas as gerações;</p> <p>. Combate à segregação urbana;</p> <p>. Aposta em políticas de regeneração urbana;</p> <p>. Redução de assimetrias territoriais;</p> <p>. Desenvolvimento de ambientes seguros .</p>
	Strategic reports	None	None
	Regulations	None	Refers to good levels of urban quality, inclusive security in some operational areas.
	Other	None	<p>Interfaces de transporte colectivo.</p> <p>Presença visível de funcionários – A presença de funcionários dos operadores de transporte contribui para aumentar a segurança dos passageiros, seja porque sentem que se trata de uma zona vigiada, seja porque em caso de dúvida sobre a oferta, sabem que existem pessoas que os podem auxiliar (Urban characterization report).</p>

Barreiro			
Year	1994	In planning, guidelines approved in 2003	
Plan typology	Land-use planning	Mixed normative-strategic approach	
Public participation	No	Meetings with stakeholders during analysis/strategic planning phase	
Plan/strategic objectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Reequilibrar a rede urbana do concelho.</i> 2. <i>Melhorar as acessibilidades internas.</i> 3. <i>Melhorar as acessibilidades externas.</i> 4. <i>Desenvolver e qualificar as redes de equipamentos sociais de forma a que seja possível atingir níveis de cobertura normais nos vários sectores.</i> 5. <i>Criar e equipar uma estrutura concelhia de espaços verdes, essencial para garantir o equilíbrio e a qualidade do meio urbano.</i> 6. <i>Contribuir para a redução de carências habitacionais.</i> 7. <i>Melhorar a oferta de espaços para a instalação de actividades económicas.</i> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Desenvolvimento da acessibilidade interna e externa.</i> 2. <i>Gestão e preservação de forma sustentável, dos recursos naturais.</i> 3. <i>Valorização do espaço urbano.</i> 4. <i>Qualificação das áreas industriais.</i> 5. <i>Preservação do património construído.</i> 6. <i>Reprogramação das redes de equipamentos.</i> 7. <i>Promoção da fixação e articulação de iniciativa pública e privada.</i> 8. <i>Promoção da qualificação dos recursos humanos.</i> 9. <i>Desenvolvimento de uma metodologia de democracia participada.</i> (Guidelines, 2003).	
References to urban security	<i>Plan objectives</i>	None	None
	<i>Strategic reports</i>	None	(In elaboration)
	<i>Regulations</i>	None	(In elaboration)
	<i>Other</i>	None	None (Guidelines, 2003).

Annex 5. Main characterizations of and excerpts from detailed plans

Lisbon, Planos de Urbanização (detailed land-use plans)								
Year	State	Title	Typology	Planned actions	Public /private	Relation with statutory planning	References to urban security (Termos de Referencia)	References to urban security (plan)
2008	<i>In planning phase</i>	Plano de urbanização da área envolvente à estação do Oriente	Urban restructuring	Reformulation of infrastructural hub. Reconversion of former industrial areas in housing district. Public spaces design.	Public	In variance	None	(In elaboration)
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Alteração ao plano de urbanização do Alto do Lumiar	New development	Modification of planning regulations. Public services. Public spaces design.	Public	In variance	None	None
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Plano de urbanização de Alcantara	Urban reconversion	Reformulation of infrastructural hub and transport system. Public spaces design. Stimulus to refurbishment. Public services.	Public	In variance	(Not screened)	None (Report, 2012)
2010	<i>In planning phase</i>	Alteração ao plano de urbanização do núcleo histórico do Bairro Alto e Bica	Urban regeneration	Heritage refurbishment. Public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	None (Report, 2012)
2010	<i>In planning phase</i>	Alteração ao plano de urbanização do núcleo histórico da Mouraria	Urban regeneration	Heritage refurbishment. Public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	(Not screened)	None (Report, 2012)
2010	<i>In planning phase</i>	Alteração pontual do regulamento do plano de urbanização do núcleo histórico de Alfama e Colina do Castelo	Urban regeneration	Modification of planning regulations.	Public	Abiding	None	None (Report, 2012)

Lisbon, Planos de Pormenor (urban design plans)								
Year	State	Title	Typology	Planned actions	Public/private	Relation with statutory planning	References to urban security (Termos de Referencia)	References to urban security (plan)
2004	In planning phase	Alto dos Moinhos	New development	New development: housing, congress centre, touristic facilities, public services. Public spaces design.	Public/private agreement	Land-use right transfer	None	(In elaboration)
2004	In planning phase	Zona envolvente do Mercado de Benfica	Urban regeneration	Volumetric expansion: public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Land-use right transfer	None	None
2005	In planning phase	Alto de Stº Amaro	New development	New development: public services, private development, housing. Public spaces design.	Public/private agreement	In variance	None	(In elaboration)
2005	In planning phase	Av. José Malhoa	Urban regeneration	New development: tertiary. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	(Not screened)	None
2005	In planning phase	Núcleo da Torre	New development	New development: housing, public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	<i>Conteúdo documental. Planta de conforto e segurança urbana com indicação da localização dos percursos pedonais, mobiliário urbano, iluminação pública, sinalética e suportes publicitários.</i>	(In elaboration)
2005	In force	Matinha	Urban restructuring	Reconversion of former industrial area: housing, tertiary plant, public services, commercial, touristic facilities. Public spaces design.	Public	In variance + land-use right transfer	(Not screened)	None (Report, 2010)
2008	In planning phase	Campus de Campolide	Urban restructuring	Reconversion of former prison: university facilities. Public spaces design.	Public	Land-use right transfer	None	(In elaboration)
2008	In force	Amoreiras	Urban restructuring	New buildings: housing, public services, tourist facilities, commercial. Public spaces design.	Public	In variance	(Not screened)	<i>Os candeeiros previstos garantem a iluminação de toda a área do plano, aumentando a segurança e permitindo um desfrute mais agradável do espaço público durante a noite(Report, 2010).</i>

2008	<i>In force</i>	Salvaguarda da Baixa Pombalina	Urban regeneration	Requalification of historic built environment. Public services. Public spaces design. Transport planning. Urban marketing and business improvement district.	Public	Abiding	(Not screened)	<i>É necessária uma alteração no seu actual referencial de “espaço” e de “tempo” consubstanciando de forma gradual, mas sustentada, um conjunto de decisões e intervenções que, combinando restrições e incentivos, evidenciem, para os seus diversos “utilizadores”, uma rede alargada e convergente de pontos fortes de atractividade para visitar, trabalhar e viver, onde o acesso fácil e a mobilidade, a segurança e o conforto, a modernidade e qualidade das infra-estruturas e equipamentos partilháveis e a diversidade de utilizações do espaço público ao longo do dia, da semana e do ano, contribuam para a imposição de uma identidade forte de espaço urbano diferenciado, singular e privilegiado (Report, 2011).</i>
2008	<i>In force</i>	Aterro de Boavista Nascente	Urban restructuring	Reconversion of former industrial plant: housing, commercial, public services. Public spaces design.	Public	In variance	(Not screened)	None (Report, 2011; Environmental report, 2010)
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Azinhaga dos Lameiros	Illegal settlement reconversion	Reconversion of illegal settlement. Public spaces design.	Public	In variance	None	(In elaboration)
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Bairro dos Sete Céus	Illegal settlement reconversion	Reconversion of illegal settlement. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	<i>Demais elementos que acompanham o Plano: planta de segurança urbana com indicação da localização dos percursos pedonais, mobiliário urbano, iluminação pública e sinalética.</i>	(In elaboration)
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Calçada das Lajes	Urban restructuring	New development: housing. Building refurbishment. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Casal do Pinto	New development	New development: housing, public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Galinheiras	Illegal settlement reconversion	Reconversion of illegal settlement. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)
2009	<i>In planning phase (likely)</i>	Quinta Marquês de Abrantes e Alfinetes -	New development	New development: cooperative housing,	Public	Abiding	(Not screened)	Chapter on <i>Urban security and public space</i> (Report, 2011). See main text.

	<i>to be converted in allotment plan)</i>	modelo urbano		public services. Public spaces design.				
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Pedreira do Alvito	Urban restructuring	Reconversion of former industrial plant: housing, commercial, public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	(Not screened)	None (Report, 2012)
2009	<i>In force</i>	Parque Mayer	Urban restructuring	Heritage safeguard and refurbishment. New development: housing, tertiary, commercial, public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	(Not screened)	Chapter on <i>Urban security and public space</i> (Socio-economic analysis, 2010). See main text.
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Quinta do Olival e Casal dos Abrantes	Illegal settlement reconversion	Reconversion of illegal settlement. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)
2010	<i>In planning phase</i>	Calçada da Ajuda	Urban restructuring	Use reconversion of former industrial plant and hospital. New development: housing. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)
2010	<i>In planning phase</i>	Cidade Universitária de Lisboa	Urban regeneration	New developments and refurbishment: university facilities. Public spaces design. Transport planning.	Public	Abiding	<i>Implementar soluções para aumentar os níveis de segurança dentro do território da Cidade Universitária, aumentando o nível de iluminação pública, estabelecendo circuitos pedonais e locais de estadia equipados com a introdução de pequeno comércio dirigido, de modo a promover a vigilância por vizinhança.</i>	(In elaboration)
2010	<i>In planning phase</i>	Rehabilitação urbana da Colina do Castelo	Urban regeneration	Heritage safeguard and refurbishment. Public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)
2010	<i>In planning phase</i>	Eixo urbano Luz Benfica	Urban regeneration	Public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)

2010	<i>In planning phase</i>	Rehabilitação urbana da Madragoa	Urban regeneration	Heritage safeguard and refurbishment. Public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)
2010	<i>In force</i>	Alvalade XXI	Urban restructuring	New development: public services. Public spaces design.	Public	In variance	(Not screened)	<i>Iluminação pública.</i> <i>Os jardins e espaços verdes integrados no plano deverão ser objecto de iluminação de segurança e decorativa, com base em aparelhos com características anti-vândalo, homologados pela concessionária de distribuição de energia.</i> <i>Os logradouros em espaço público deverão também ser objecto de iluminação de segurança, com base em aparelhos homologados pela concessionária de distribuição de energia (Report, 2011)</i>
2011	<i>In planning phase</i>	Salvaguarda da área envolvente do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda	New development	Heritage safeguard. New development: housing, commercial. Public spaces design.	Public	In variance	None	(In elaboration)
2011	<i>In planning phase</i>	Parque Hospitalar Oriental	New development	New development: hospital plant, housing, public services. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	<i>Garantir a conectividade das redes dos percursos previstos, a sua segurança, o conforto físico e psicológico dos utentes na sua utilização, sem esquecer a funcionalidade das soluções e a relação de acessibilidade com o transporte público.</i>	(In elaboration)
2011	<i>In planning phase</i>	Quinta da Bela Flor	New development	New development: housing, commercial, public services. Public spaces design.	Public/private agreement	Abiding	<i>Acessibilidade pedonal: garantir a conectividade das redes dos percursos previstos, a sua segurança, o conforto físico e psicológico dos utentes na sua utilização, sem esquecer a funcionalidade das soluções e a relação de acessibilidade com o transporte público.</i>	(In elaboration)
2011	<i>In planning phase</i>	Universidade Católica Portuguesa	New development	New development: private university. Public spaces design.	Private development	In variance.	None	(In elaboration)
2012	<i>In planning phase</i>	Quinta da Torrinha	Illegal settlement reconversion	Reconversion of illegal settlement. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding	None	(In elaboration)

Cascais, Planos de Pormenor (urban design plans)								
Year	State	Title	Typology	Planned actions	Public /private	Relation with statutory planning	References to urban security (Termos de Referencia)	References to urban security (plan)
2003	<i>In force</i>	Espaço de reestruturação urbanística da quinta do Barão	New development	New development: housing, retail, services. Requalification of existing buildings. Park and public spaces design.	Public-private agreement	Prescribed by 1997 PDM, in variance	None	None
2003	<i>In planning phase</i>	Boca do Inferno	Public spaces design	Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, Plano Ordenamento Orla Costeira)	Promoção da qualidade de vida da população e reforço da segurança para o uso, na requalificação urbanística e patrimonial em especial nos acessos pedonais e escadas.	(In elaboration)
2004	<i>In force</i>	Espaço de estabelecimento terciário do Arneiro	New development	New development: commercial, touristic, elderly housing, public services. Environmental regeneration.	Public-private agreement	Prescribed by 1997 PDM, in variance	None	Several (Report, 2010). See main text.
2004	<i>In force</i>	Reestruturação urbanística dos terrenos do hotel Estoril-Sol e área envolvente	Urban restructuring	Housing development and parking. Public spaces design.	Private development	In variance	None	Favorecer-se uma mais clara e directa comunicação entre aquela praça e o passeio marítimo (doravante Paredão), promovendo consequentemente as relações visuais e pedonais entre o Parque Palmela e o Paredão, contribuindo, assim, para atenuar o impacto negativo da presença das fortes barreiras físicas representadas pela Avenida Marginal e pela linha-férrea (Report, 2005).
2005	<i>In planning phase</i>	Reestruturação urbanística do Terreno do Hotel Miramar	Urban restructuring	Volumetric expansion: touristic development. Public spaces design.	Private development	In variance	None	(In elaboration)
2006	<i>In force</i>	Instalação da sede nacional da Brisa - Auto estradas de Portugal S.A.	New development	Tertiary development.	Private development	In variance + land-use right transfer	None	None
2006	<i>In planning phase</i>	Núcleo urbano de Alcabideche	Urban regeneration	Regulations for and stimulus to refurbishment.	Public	Abiding (in application	Conforto e Imagem – um espaço [público] deve transmitir	(In elaboration)

				Public spaces design.		of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	segurança, estar limpo, ser visualmente interessante e acomodar equipamento adequado às funções do local.	
2006	<i>In planning phase</i>	Biscaia e Figueira do Guincho	Urban regeneration	Regulations for new buildings and urban regeneration. Stimulus to refurbishment. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	Conforto e Imagem – um espaço [público] deve transmitir segurança, estar limpo, ser visualmente interessante e acomodar equipamento adequado às funções do local.	(In elaboration)
2006	<i>In planning phase</i>	Alcorvim de Baixo e Alcorvim de Cima	Urban regeneration	Regulations for new buildings and urban regeneration. Stimulus to refurbishment. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	Conforto e Imagem – um espaço [público] deve transmitir segurança, estar limpo, ser visualmente interessante e acomodar equipamento adequado às funções do local.	(In elaboration)
2006	<i>In planning phase</i>	Areia	Urban regeneration	Regulations for new buildings and urban regeneration. Stimulus to refurbishment. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	Conforto e Imagem – um espaço [público] deve transmitir segurança, estar limpo, ser visualmente interessante e acomodar equipamento adequado às funções do local.	(In elaboration)
2006	<i>In planning phase</i>	Cabreiro	Urban regeneration	Regulations for new buildings and urban regeneration. Stimulus to refurbishment. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	Conforto e Imagem – um espaço [público] deve transmitir segurança, estar limpo, ser visualmente interessante e acomodar equipamento adequado às funções do local.	(In elaboration)
2006	<i>In planning phase</i>	Espaço de reestruturação urbanística de Carcavelos-Sul	New development	New development: housing, private facilities (health, sport, education). Public spaces design.	Public-private agreement	Prescribed by PDM, land-use right transfer	Modelo urbano de bom nível e de elevados padrões de segurança e protecção civil.	(In elaboration)
2006	<i>In planning phase</i>	Charneca	Urban regeneration	Regulations for new buildings and urban regeneration. Stimulus to building requalification. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	Conforto e Imagem – um espaço [público] deve transmitir segurança, estar limpo, ser visualmente interessante e acomodar equipamento adequado às funções do local.	(In elaboration)
2006	<i>In planning phase</i>	Malveira da Serra e Janes	Urban regeneration	Regulations for new buildings and urban regeneration. Stimulus to refurbishment. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	Conforto e Imagem – um espaço [público] deve transmitir segurança, estar limpo, ser visualmente interessante e acomodar equipamento adequado às funções do local.	(In elaboration)

2007	<i>In force</i>	Espaço terciário de Sassoeiros norte	Urban restructuring	Reconversion of a former industrial plant and new tertiary development.	Private development	In variance	None	A persistência de deficiências no saneamento básico, reduzida qualidade de algumas áreas balneares e falta de higiene em espaços públicos, as carências de arranjo dos espaços exteriores, do remate urbano e do tratamento paisagístico, em geral, e alguma insegurança relativa a assaltos e actos de vandalismo, estão na base da diminuição da atractividade turística do concelho, não obstante registar os valores mais elevados da sub-região da Grande Lisboa, juntamente com os concelhos de Lisboa e Sintra (Environmental report, 2010).
2008	<i>In planning phase</i>	Área de intervenção específica da Atrozela	Urban regeneration	Detailed planning for natural park. Regulations for urban regeneration. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	None	(In elaboration)
2009	<i>In planning phase</i>	Zambujeiro e Murches	Urban regeneration	Regulations for new buildings and urban regeneration. Stimulus to refurbishment. Public spaces design.	Public	Abiding (in application of sectoral plan, natural park Sintra-Cascais)	Conforto e Imagem – um espaço [público] deve transmitir segurança, estar limpo, ser visualmente interessante e acomodar equipamento adequado às funções do local.	(In elaboration)
2011	<i>In planning phase</i>	Requalificação do Ecoparque de Trajouce	Environmental rehabilitation	Environmental rehabilitation of a waste treatment plant.	Public	In variance	None	(In elaboration)
Barreiro, Planos de Urbanização (detailed land-use plans)								
<i>Year</i>	<i>State</i>	Title	Typology	Planned actions	Public /private	Relation with statutory planning	References to urban security (Termos de Referencia)	References to urban security (plan)
2006	<i>In force</i>	Quimiparque e área envolvente	Urban restructuring	New developments over a former industrial plant: housing, services, R&I plant, tertiary plant,	Public	In variance	(Not screened)	None

				touristic port. Environmental rehabilitation.				
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